The Social Position of the Woman Among the Eastern Bororo

[A posição social da mulher entre os Bororo orientais]

Herbert Baldus

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[Title page]

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in
such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio
Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for in-
vestigation, especially in what touches on the problems of
individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of
175 these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the
city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda,
therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and
[648] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up
[181] to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno
who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times
the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not
making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno
chief Nalikí said, in order to explain this inclination toward
peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering
22 people. They spent only three months of the year, more or
[241] less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time
they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from
a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in
the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is
reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back
167 by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians
still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.
797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than
131 thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that
time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio
Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them,
therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present
territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about
53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the
Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro,
tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/113 cont./
797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally
designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from
Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to
Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and
Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924,
as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in
/114/ January of 1926, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of
1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up
to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as
maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26,
37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
241 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as
orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer
at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane,
vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
162 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
[16] only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve
children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri,
that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44
children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
[131] which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio
Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south
latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses
with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
[797] of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/115 cont./
162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The
Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is ad-
ministered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only
visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for
protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo
of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão
de Proteção aos Indios.

Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
657 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
131 latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is
[162] another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to
a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos
Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500
inhabitants in 1933.

Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
621 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
162 and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[131] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named
[103] Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru:
underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia
means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has
existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On
the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the
men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total
number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the
aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[464] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations.
[131] Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
177 Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our
[189] civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri,
although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were
previously in these missions.

/116 cont./
000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was
possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at
times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the
water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at
times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen
walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in
many places despite being renovated three times a year.
Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman,
or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas
in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods
lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always
very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not
able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any
case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oanassú /babassu/, and the women,
under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But
those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which
the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently
worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and
narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/117 cont./

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Each clan has its special ornaments. The Bororo Mario Bokodori Kudde, in Sangradouro, described to me, for example, the ornaments illustrated by Padre Colbacchini in his book I Bororos Orientali, pp. 48 and 49, as belonging to the following clans: 1 -- akario bokodori baaddageba; 2 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and manna; 3 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and vie; 5 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae tchebegiugue; 6 -- kie; 7 -- bakorokuddu baaddageba; 1' -- paiwe kujaguréugue; 2 -- apiburegue; 3' -- aorore kujaguréugue; 4' -- iwaguddudogue kujaguréugue; 6' -- aorore tchoréugue. Each one of these ornaments belongs to the following clans designated by the numbers above:

/118/

Colbacchini, p. 48: 7 1 1
6 3 5 2 1
1
1 1 1 1 7 1 6' 2' 4' 6'
Colbacchini, p. 49: 6 6 6 6
2 6
2 2 2 1
7 6 7 7 1 2 2
7
1' 7 7
3' and 6'
1 and 7

/118 cont./

Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have 114 already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America 562 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while 482 the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of [114] this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many [797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the 121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery. 593 While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South [171] America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after [113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier, /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

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It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

/120 cont./
562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
[171] the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous impediment
to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epidemics,
floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
757 women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Borôros, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/121 cont./

842 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions 757 and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called *Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u*, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (*o.c.*, p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (*o.c.*, p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

163 In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of [177] Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the [797] influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. A *v* after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

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/123 cont./ If the children are from a previous marriage of the husband, the number for them is put in parenthesis; being from a previous marriage of the woman, the number is between brackets.

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	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
1	Alexio 50	Alvina 55	2			1
2	Antonio 55 v	Assumpção 65 v	(1) [1]	[1]	(3) [1]	[1]
3	Attilho 23	Frederica 17			1	
4	Braz 50	Josefina 38	2	4	1	3
5	Benedito 65	Loiduvina 55	1	1		
6	Bentino 20	Dosithea 20				
7	Baptista 26	Erminia 21	1		1	
8	Claudio 22	Ismaelita 19		1		
9	Domingo 50	Natalia 52		1	1	
10	Elias 21	Conceição 18	2			
11	Estanislão 45	Angelina 45		1		1
12	Eugenio 18	Cecilia 16		1		
13	João 38	Regina 19				
14	João Cagliero 50	Judith 50	1	4	2	2
15	João Baptista 50 v	Lucina 20	(2)	(1) 1	(4)	
16	Modesto 35	Anita 26	2	2		
17	Sebastião 55 v	Aida 40 v	(2) [1]		(1) [1]	
18	Thiago 35	Maria Luisa 35	1	1		2

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	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
19	Ugo 27	Claudia 22		2		
20	Vito 45	Angelina ?	3	2		
21	Rafael 60 v	Catarina 32	(1)	(3)		
22	Manoel 32	Jacinta 45 v	[1] 1	4		
23	José Maria 27	Theresa 26		1		1
24	Justino 39	Clotilde 35	2	1	1	3
25	Joaquim 70	Irene 50		(2)	(1)	(1)
26	Cirilo 35	Maria 42 v	[1]	[1] 2		
27	Luiz 50	Florisbela 55	1	1	2	1
28	Gabriel Pilar 34 (abandoned his wife)		2	1		1
		Total:	31	39	20	17
	orphan brothers		1	2		
	" "		1	2		
	orphan boy		1			
	orphan girl			1		

3 bachelors
1 widower
1 widow

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846 121 In different ways people have tried to explain the couvade, the so-called post partum of the man, this very widespread custom, especially in South America, according which the father is obliged to lie down for whole days, not doing heavy work, and to abstain from many important foods. "Some authors consider the custom of the couvade, which is found among many primitive peoples, an intermediary degree between the matriarchal and the patriarchal family. This custom is regarded as an act /125/ symbolic of the public recognition of the paternity of the newborn child, although probably something religious co-operates in it too." (Illustrierte Völkerkunde, herausgegeben von Georg Buschan, /Illustrated Ethnology, edited by Georg Buschan/, 3. Auflage /3rd ed./, Stuttgart, 1922, t. I, p. 8.)

The results of more modern research indubitably show that the purpose of this custom is to protect from harm the child, who, in its early stages of life, is imagined to be in direct connection with the father, that is to say, as part of him. Today well-known ethnologists understand that the couvade signifies a precedence of the man, because the fact that certain customs are exclusively related to one sex proves, so they say, that this sex, by means of these customs, is placed above the other one.

846 Among the Bororo, father and mother fast for some days after the child's birth, not rarely, however, also up to two months, but both continue with their work. Consequently a true couvade did not exist among them. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 61) writes, concerning the fast: "For three or four days the mother abstains from meat, being content with some broths made with maize or roots and wild fruits, sweetened with wild honey, or sugar, if they are able to get it. It is customary for the husband to follow the diet of the woman in abstaining from meat; one can even say that his diet is stricter than that of the wife. He proceeds thus in order that the neonatus will grow strong and healthy and will be able to resist hunger and thirst without suffering."

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846 Karl von den Steinen (*a.c.* */sic/*, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (*ibidem*) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, *o.c.*, [171] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 785 [825] As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 171 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided into two exogamous "halves," the *tugarege* and the *tcherae*, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (*I Bororos Orientali*, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are
not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups,"
but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
553 the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the
[614] daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal
tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her
older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one
who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards
gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one
has only one name during his whole life. A few days after
the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the
Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/,"
Festschrift für P.W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734)
describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques
Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo
might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
Boróros, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper
[616] or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from
some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group
to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so
that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the
Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their
members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those
of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/128 cont./
614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri,
551 and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many
others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooáa.
Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the
names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the
names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they
belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same
custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names
of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example:
the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take
the following proper names for members of their families:
Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for
their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara,
Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the
Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
consideration. For example: an individual to whom the
825 name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not
for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor
will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity.
The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
855 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female
predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient
Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior
was observed among some South American tribes~~,~~ let there be
mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland
Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912,
pp. 86-90).

/129 cont./

584 Colbacchini (o.c., pp. 55 and 56) writes about the Bororo:
"In general and in the majority of cases it is the woman who
precedes the man in the marriage proposal. The young woman
who feels led to esteem a young man and who wishes to be
joined to him consults in particular the mother, if she is still
alive, or the older sister. If such a proposal is well received
by the mother, the latter will then take an active part in
satisfying the daughter's wishes. She will then try to find
out, among her friends and the lad's relatives, whether the
daughter would be readily accepted as a wife. In the
affirmative care, the mother and the daughter prepare some
dishes which they judge or know will be to the taste of the
young man, and the mother of the pretendant, or in her
absence the older sister, knowing that the lad /130/ is home,
goes at noon to look for him, taking the prepared delicacies,
in a wicker basket, in order at the same time to make to
him the proposal and official request. Upon entering the
house, she will address the young man, who will be sitting
near the fire working on the arrows; and she will say to
him: -- A wogae i roino -- (I came looking for you) -- and
she will make him the proposal. If the young man wishes
to accept it, he will say nothing, but will stretch out his
hand to receive the gift sent, which he will place at his side.
And with this gesture the request is granted. The agreement
concluded, jubilant with joy, she will immediately take the
[591] good news to her daughter. Both the mother and the relatives
of the bride then set about preparing the house, because it is
[513] the custom that the man goes to live in the wife's house. They
will prepare the fire, the straw mat for sleeping, the receptacle
584 for water; afterwards they will cook something and wait. At
nightfall, the lad will retire to the bride's house and, without
585 saying anything, will enter and place himself beside the one
who from this moment on is his wife. The mother or the
sister will go to the house of the bridegroom to get what belongs

/130 cont./
584 to him: bows, arrows, etc., and they will take everything
to him, but they will not hand them over to him, but to the
585 wife, who will receive and will place everything in order,
[601] while the husband will remain calmly near the fire. With
this ceremony the marriage is settled; from that moment
on they will live together, they will call each other by the
names of It'ore-do, it'ore-duje (my wife, my husband)."

It is true that Colbacchini (o.c., p. 56) mentions that in certain cases the man also or only the parents might be the pretendant party.

[114] /131/ The report by Karl von den Steinen an the eastern
Bororo visited by him differs in many things from Colbacchini's
descriptions. He does not say a word about the initiative of the
woman and only observes (o.c., p. 501): "The lads manage
in time to find a wife, and with respect to this there are two
[304] customs concerning the clothing. The ear lobes of the girl
are pierced by the future husband (those of the lad by the
father); if he himself does not marry her, his son will marry
her. Whoever places a penis case on the lad "becomes related"
to him and marries his sister or his aunt."

Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 500) even speaks of stealing women within the tribe and mentions that only part of the men had a wife permanently.

562 What this German explorer is able to tell about the
young women in the men's house is interesting (o.c., p. 502):
831 "The young women, in part, are brought in publicly during
[302] the day and painted and adorned, playing and joking; in
part they are taken later, at night. One night we saw how
the bachelors who had been lying in front of the quarters
fell upon the crowd of women who were coming back from
a mourning gathering. Two were caught after a silent struggle,
wrapped in blankets so that they were unrecognizable, and
taken to the men's house. But one of the two was, as we saw

/131 cont./

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the following morning, Maria, rich in experience, in whose resistance there could not have been very serious intentions. Did you not want to get married yesterday? I asked. -- Now I am already married, she answered calmly. She was lying down in all /132/ comfort under a red blanket beside her favorite man, and both were cracking nuts from a palm tree. One day we say Moguyokuri encouraging the young men to decorate Maria, who appeared so brave in the struggle and was so submissive now. Immediately six young men threw themselves upon her, painting her."

The fact, however, that the girl taken to the men's house did not figure there in any manner as a slave without a will of her own is evident and thanks to the following observation by Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 489): "While the women, ordinarily, remained away from the men's house, there was rarely missing there a couple of lovers who frolicked lying under a common red blanket. Nobody was concerned about it, except a few friends tormented by a little jealousy, who actually had been refused by the common sweetheart and had to be satisfied with sitting beside the couple, talking to them."

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Such customs in the men's house do not seem to have existed among the Bororo with whom the Salesian missionaries spent their life. At least Colbacchini never mentions anything similar. I did not see any women in the men's house in Toriparu either.

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It has been affirmed that the custom according to which one sex is much older than the other one in marriage indicates a predominance of the first (Vaerting, o.c., p. 22 and seq.), quoting examples from Egypt, America, and India. From South American Indians, for example, from the hunting and gathering people of the Chamacoco in the Chaco /133/ (Baldus: Indianerstudien /Indian Studies/, Leipzig, 1931, p. 58).

/133 cont./

000 and from the Mojo, agriculturalists already Christianized by the Jesuits on the Rio Mamoré in Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland /To the Gateway of the Sun through old Indian country/, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), there became known the so-called matrimonial school, an institution according to which adolescent boys marry older women, and older men young girls, the older ones representing, in a way, an educational role. We did not learn of similar
582 rules among the Bororo. Concerning the age ratios in the marriages observed in 1934 in the mission of Meruri, the list reproduced above is to be seen. According to this list, for 4 couples, both spouses were of the same age, for 16 the husband was older, and for 6 the woman was older. For 7, the husband was up to five years older; for 3, he was from five to ten years older; for 6, he was more than ten years older. For 3, the wife was up to five years older; for 2, she was from five to ten years older; for one, she was more than ten years older.

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589 One must consider as a harmful consequence of the exogamy practiced among the Bororo the fact that bachelors and the widowed of both sexes often have to remain, without being able to marry for a long time, or even forever, for lack of a corresponding consort from the other "half"; this was observed also by Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50).

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562 One can judge the severity with which the separation of the exogamic "halves" is observed, even after marriage, by the following observations by Colbacchini (o.c., /134/ pp. 49 and 50): "By their totemism, it is absolutely forbidden for the men of one dynasty to talk, to smile at, or merely to notice or to look at the women of another dynasty. This is observed meticulously and scrupulously. The men of any age, meeting by chance on the road or any place one or more women, not only will keep from being stopped, they will not look at them,

/134 cont./
616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional
[689] precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall
into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since
any look or smile between persons of different sex and
diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen
eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty,
and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of
these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man
talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that
they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even
between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in
public, even though not so scrupulously: it will, however,
be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his
own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to
be together, except when they leave the house and both go
to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest:
this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this
severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the
men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and
matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not
the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of
both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her
consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to
the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the
man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after
marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal),
while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of
her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has
to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

/135 cont./
593 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501):
"The young wife remains with the children in the parents'
512 house. The young husband only spends the night in this house
and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not
354 hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the
603 grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It
continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother
855 nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or
when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest: 'they always
still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are
836 evident from the following indications of the same explorer
431 /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls
in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long
411 bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young
woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent
expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love
602 arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the
mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then,
421 an idea of the property relationships within the maternal
family.

224 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to
which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over
602 "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the
uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen,
ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the
mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that
114 her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/136 cont./

614 A consequence of the matrilineal organization, which, at the same time, characterizes the preponderant social importance of the woman, is the fact that a clan is destined to become extinct as soon as the women are missing. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50) also refers to that.

595 In general the Bororo are monogamous. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 57) observes in this respect: "The few sporadic cases of polygamy that are found are disapproved by all. The case of latent polygamy takes place, ordinarily, when a man marries a woman who has /137/ a young daughter, or when he marries a young girl whose mother, a widow or without a husband, is still young. In this case polygamy is easy, even though hidden, because officially the man will be the husband of the mother or of the daughter and never of the daughter and mother."

The Bororo spoke to me of such cases of bigamy, which is confirmed by the following observation by Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 501): "In Thereza Christina, apparently only Moguyokuri (the chief) lived in polygamy. His wives were a woman of a certain age and a daughter of her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and when the mother became ugly and the daughter became pretty, he "married" the daughter also." [622]

Von den Steinen (ibidem) adds, however: "But, in the aldeias, polygamy of the elders is generally the rule." This author seems to assume this, basing himself only on the report by Waehneldt about the Bororo on the Jaurú (mentioned on the same page), because he did not visit the aldeias personally. If we were inclined to establish a connections between the fact that in general monogamy exists among the Bororo and only in rare cases bigamy with mother and daughter, and the institution according to which the daughter lives with the mother all her life, the husband goes to live in her house

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

[121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliny are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliny is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiago Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely, been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with
121 matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has
582 fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and
591 patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted
[589] in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united
numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being
able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children
586 remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative
for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the
wife.

121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does
the heavier and economically more valuable work has a
position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many
times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier
462 or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den
Steinen (*o.c.*, p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them,
222 "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought
by the women has greater importance because it is obtained
with more regularity and in abundance. The women look
for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great
agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí
have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the
'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/
and of the piquí, /*Caryocar brasiliense*/, etc."

462 The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians,
hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the
[224] house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks
too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in
hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow;
in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts
certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in
462 many she also helps in the construction of the house. But,
141 considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps,
be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want
to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most
of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

[171] 3. In contrast let there be indicated
the following tribes described by Barbosa
Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, *Rondonia*,
3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196):
"Tembés -- Male stature, in general,
shorter than the female. Women tall and
thin; men short and fat. *Mundurucús* --
They are muscular. Men shorter than the

/140 cont./

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women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being 462 482 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investigating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads [434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

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It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat. [241] [171] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[289] [171] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 128 In the following list I demonstrate the division of labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 562 123 How much the sexual life is related to the social position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is underneath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he [775]

[Text Continued on Page 28]

5: Baldus--27 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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DIVISION OF LABOR

	MAN								WOMAN							
	Bororo	*Chamacoco*	*Kaingang*	*Kaskihá*	*Terena*	*Karajá*	*Tapirapé*	*Guayakí*	*Bororo*	*Chamacoco*	*Kaingang*	*Kaskihá*	*Terena*	*Karajá*	*Tapirapé*	*Guayakí*
build the house	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
cut wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
look for wood	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
cut or incise the trees for the extraction of honey	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
cut palm trees to get the fruits	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
gather wild plant food	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gather small animals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
gather honey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
fish with net	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
fish with bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
fish by poisoning the water	+	−	−	−	?	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	?	+	+	−
cook	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
smoke small animals and fish in the embers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
smoke large animals on the grill	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
bring in water	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the load on marches	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
carry the small children	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carry the older children on marches	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
paint the face	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
paint the body	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
tattoo	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
pierce the boy's lower lip	+	?	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	?	−	−	−	−	+	−
pierce the boy's ear lobe	+	+	−	?	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	?	+	+	−	−
pierce the girl's ear lobe	+	−	−	?	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	?	+	+	−	−
fabrication of the penis case	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
fabrication of the woman's garb	−	−	−	?	?	−	−	−	+	+	−	?	?	+	−	−
fabrication of the cord made of hair	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
fabrication of thick cords	+	+	−	+	?	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	?	+	+	+
fabrication of fine cords	+	+	−	+	?	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	?	+	+	+
fabrication of knotted work	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
plait (baskets, etc.)	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+
plait the hunting bag from a palm leaf	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
spin and weave or make crochet work	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
fabrication of the implements for spinning and weaving	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
elaboration of wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
cultivation of gourds	?	+	−	+	?	+	+	−	?	−	−	−	?	−	−	−
elaboration of gourds	+	+	−	+	?	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	?	−	−	−
elaboration of bones, claws, teeth, shellfish, stones, or metals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
fabrication of feather ornaments	+	−	−	?	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	?	+	−	+	−
fabrication of clay vessels	−	−	?	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+

/143 cont./
833 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day:
562 "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down
123 one beside the other, because one day they will die and then
775 they are reunited."

864 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu
115 and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 From Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the
171 following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

/144 cont./
000 goddess of the earth, had in common seven rings. "When
they met at night, they would decorate themselves with these
rings, that is, the one who was lying on top always wore the
first four rings, and the one who was lying underneath wore
the remaining three rings" (Leo Frobenius: Vom Kulturreich
des Festlandes, /From the Cultural Realm of the Continent/,
Berlin, 1923, p. 112). According to an ancient Syrio-
Judaic tale, Adam and Eve argued in paradise about which
of the two, during coitus, had to lie underneath and which
one on top (Frobenius, ibidem).

/145/ To what point the socially inferior position of the woman in our civilization is manifested also with respect to the sexual life is shown by the following expressions: "to possess" or "to use" or "to dishonor" a woman. Our collective morality does not tolerate the woman's using such expressions also with respect to the man. She cannot "possess him," but must "belong to him," she cannot "use him," but she must "surrender herself," and she can never "dishonor him," because she must seduce him in such a way that he considers himself the seducer.

Among our Indians, we shall look in vain for a mentality
562 that establishes similar violent differences between the sexes.
This is not contradicted by what Koslowsky (o.c. p. 384)
relates about the western Bororo /The following quotation
562 has been translated from the Spanish/: "When they get
224 ready for hunting(the ounce [H.B.]) they begin by
[411] observing certain ceremonies, which consist principally of
not sleeping with one's wife for four days before leaving to
hunt the feline; in this interval he starts by painting his face
with urucú, he prepares his arrows at the heat of the fire in
order to harden the fibers of the tacuara /bamboo/. Under
no circumstance is the woman allowed to touch the point
of the arrows, since the Indian believes that with her contact
they would lose their power of penetration and that it would
[833] attract misfortunes to him." -- When the man avoids relations

/145 cont./

562 224 833 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 173 [224] Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much; for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

832 833 173 It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

832 They say that the only form of sexual caress known by the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

838 839 171 Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes visited by me.

77 /147/ In the legend of Ké-Marugodu (v. pages 175, 176,
and 181 of the present book /not included in this translation/,
59 [illegible]dugoedu, the jaguar, recommends to his wife that she should
not laugh and not play with other men. When, in spite of
this, she is led to laugh by Ké-Marugodu, the lizard, she
[616] falls dead in the same instant. Referring to the separation
of the sexes of the exogamous "halves," we have already
found out "that any look or smile between persons of different
sex and diverse 'half' is generally considered evil and immoral."
Undoubtedly, jealousy is one of the motives of this custom
and of that passage quoted from the legend of Ké-Marugodu.

152 Among the Bororo, both sexes show jealousy. Not
578 rarely the jealousy of the women leads them to true duels.

We know of the duel of the women of the Chamacoco
562 (Baldus: Indianerstudien, p. 62). Karl von den Steinen (o.c.,
p. 454) describes that of the Bororo in the following manner: "When the contention within the hut reached the culminating point, it was concluded by a kind of fight. They went running out to the plaza; Xantippe seemed to be the impartial one. Talking and gesticulating in a lively fashion, she placed three women on one side, and Maria, alone, in front of them. One of the three advanced with a great leap, and Maria went to meet her. They got each other by the waist, and a fierce fight began. And within a few seconds they formed the center of a thick clew of curious and combatants, a clew that turned in the center and in conjunction with a larger and looser mass /148/ along the houses. There was a mad pushing and pressing, the men laughing, leaping, beside themselves with pleasure, the women howling at their utmost, while the two adversaries held on to each other, firmly embraced and caught by the hair. Finally, they were separated by force."

578 Among the Bororo visited by me, the woman, for the
duel, tied oblong pieces of the hide armed with the spines
411 of the tail of the fresh-water ray, on the inner side on the
front joints of the finger. The men do the same thing, and
try to scratch the adversary with this, striking him and

/148 cont./
578 embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins
411 of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw
[123] the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In
the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire
these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with
their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women
[562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing
it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in
silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would
try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy,
but also when their children do some harm to one another or
578 when they themselves get furious because of some gossip.
521 Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to
be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing
152 this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend,
gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the
/149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and
slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the
world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive;
and easily become irritated when someone finds something
to say about them themselves.

Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In
586 this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me:
178 "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not
593 going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian,
and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman."
As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide.
It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would
happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the
other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives
liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the
114 woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in
797

/149 cont./
562 the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this
114 opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced
797 of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man, a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy
[593] of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already born with him, a composition by which only the individual is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes himself from all the other individuals. Although the social position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way, seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage is given its own and true configuration, or, said better, its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the boundary between the social and the individual being. How many men are there among us who would like to be dominated by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer with his individuality the influence of the conventions created by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/150 cont./

171
562 The differences in character of the individuals are no fewer in an Indian aldeia than in one of our aldeias; and there, too, the very pronounced characters open the road, in marriage, through the /151/ social rules. Among the Guató, whom Couto de Magalhães (O selvagem /the Savage/, 3rd. edition, São Paulo, 1935, p. 148) calls "an exaggerated type of the man's rights over the woman," Julio Koslowsky ("Tres semanas entre los indios Guatos /Three weeks among the Guato Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895, p. 232) found a man about whom, after having praised his extraordinary intelligence, he mentions /the following quotation has been translated from the Spanish/: "The only thing that I had to disapprove was the complete submission that he demonstrated toward his wife."

Such examples are found in every tribe of Indians. Among the Tapirapé I saw men who ordered and mistreated the woman, and others who fled from the hut with his plumes when the enraged wife threatened to throw these ornaments in the fire. Among the Karajá there are men who, in a moment of anger, thrashed the woman terribly, and who, in spite of that, in all the important matters, submits to her unconditionally. Karl von den Steinen says, although generalizing, of the Indians of the Xingú region (o.c., p. 332): "The man let the woman carry a heavier load than he did, he ordered her to remain far from the house of the flutes in which the men consulted, smoked, held festivities, and where the men were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and did what she wanted."

562 One day an old lay brother in Sangradouro, who had spent all his life with the Bororo, explained to me, in an ingenuous way, the behavior of this tribe in such situations: "Generally it is the man who commands; but /152/ when one of them is very good to the woman, it is

/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

121 If we want to investigate the importance of the
adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask
562 first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned
individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment"
the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different
clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with
[237] religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara
feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex.
[304] The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the
[856] purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen
(o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

---

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

/152 cont./ They say that this metal
301 was gold, news not very hard to accept
[135] because the Bororo occupied regions in
which gold appears frequently even to-
[306] day. Nowadays, the earrings reproduced
here in natural size are made of the metal
from cartridges. They are called
meriri-kiga-réu and are made firm by
means of an annular brass wire in the

[613]

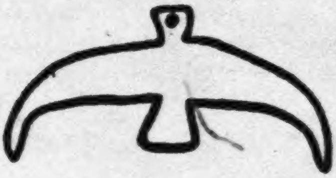

FIG. 1

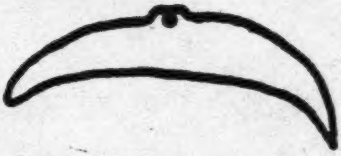

FIG. 2

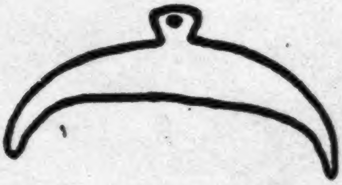

FIG. 3

/152 cont./

301 hole pierced in both ear lobes, so that the individual wears a pair of these
301
613 earrings. The one represented in Figure 1, which has a tooth above and one below, is peculiar to the clan of the Aroia; it was worn by Mario Bokodori Kudde, pictured in Plate 21, even though this man does not belong to said clan. /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ But he had killed an ounce and had given the cadaver to the Aroia, delivering with this, a recently deceased member of that clan from being
[431] incarnated in this beast. He then received, as it is the custom in such a case, gifts of honor from the Aroia, especially the bow splendidly decorated with plumes, and permission to make and to wear "without fear and shame" all the ornaments with which their clan distinguishes itself from the others. One can obtain this permission from any clan as soon as a dead ounce is handed over to it, delivering in this way one of their dead from incarnation in this feline. I still wish to observe that the wife of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Plates 19 and 20) was an Aroia and, therefore, owned earrings like those which the
[178] husband wore. The same man told me that in the past these earrings were worn the opposite way, that is with the points turned upward.

/152 cont./

301 The earring without a tooth, represented in Figure 2, belongs to the clan of the Paí-we: the one with a tooth, in Figure 3, is from the clan of the Dyakome(r)-koadda.

[237] It is probable that the shape of these earrings might have been taken from the chest ornament made with the claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/ (Priodontes giganteus) called bokodori inoge (bokodori: tatú canastra; inoge: claw), and represented various times by Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 50) and by Karl von den Steinen (o.c.).

[306] I saw a Bororo in Sangradouro also make a chest ornament in the shape and with the size of the bokodori inoge, but out of a sheet of tin plate.
I was not able to find out whether this shape has any connection with the moon.

[562] [751] /153/ We may consider as "individual adorning" among the Bororo the use of transverse cords on the chest and of the narrow woven ribbons on the arms. Both sexes, /154/ adults and children, are in the habit of wearing them occasionally in order to, as I was assured, be protected from illnesses.

[237] [751] [562] It seems that the chest ornament made out of animals' teeth serves for the same purpose. Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 479) wrote about this ornament: "Only very rarely does it happen that women also receive these ornaments, which probably results from the change by the colonization, because it is said that among the other Bororo it is common

/154 cont./
301 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this
562 decoration on the woman and children as well as on the
men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among
other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men
adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates
(o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's
house are painted and decorated with the greatest care.
[231] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women de-
corate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true
that these cases are examples of "individual adornment"
[836] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of
the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally
[593] adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one
also notices that the parents adorn the children of both
[171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual
adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for
many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces
on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always
and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment."
In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first
[171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé,
after menstruation the women renew the body painting
[613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman
wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is
"social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we
confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls
to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal
proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however,
that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those
Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/156 cont./

301 562 other sex or to his own or shows him superior to the other sex or to his own can only be answered in facing this or that particular case. Thus, this answer has only individual-psychological value, and not general value, concerning the significance of the adornment for the position of the sexes.

562 201 Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 497) writes that among the Indians "it is proper for the woman to cry and 'to tremble' always, when animals, enemies, or merely cataracts threaten, and always to need protection."

I confirmed in my experiences that this is true in general; and when it is observed that the woman, in anger and in fear, utters sharp cries or moans, while the man almost always tries in any case to preserve a more tranquil dignity, we are inclined to see in this behavior a superiority of the man. And even if the cause for the woman's behavior is only her intention "to win by means of weakness" in the relations between the sexes, that seems to us an indication of social inferiority.

000 In the majority of the native tribes the men even want the women to show fear, and certain dances are performed for this purpose. According to Wilhelm Koppers (Unter Feuerlandindianern /Among Fuegian Indians/, Stuttgart, 1924), the Indians in Tierra del Fuego narrate that in ancient times they were completely dominated by the woman, because the latter had joined together in secret leagues and performed rites thanks to which they kept the men in /157/ permanent fear. But one day the men discovered this stratagem and then did the same with the woman; and since that time the latter have been intimidated [171] by means of practices of sorcery and dances. In the dances of the Ẽnĩpẽsẽ of the Chamacoco in the Chaco (Baldus, Indianerstudien, p. 94), what the men want, by means of their mysterious and frightening tricks, is to protest against the power of the women.

/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed
184 recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who
belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo
("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of
archaeological and ethnological field work at the head-
waters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso,
Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII,
[562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The
fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is,
796 many times, the intention to hold out against the female
sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men
are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the
other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because
of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the
funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this
(o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those
solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to
take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from
the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting
themselves against this possibility. The women go to the
[534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given
by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi"
/bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular
[761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were
present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here
everything is logical and natural. But, there is more:
from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight
of this instrument would already constitute danger for the
woman: they would die if they saw it."

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[462] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's
[252] house, completely closed, and consumed there by
those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead
one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere
Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however,
what really happens there, although they pretend not to
know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
562 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role.
273 According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men
and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine
obtained from the acurí palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
602 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

The following passages of the account by Karl von den
765 Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower
[301] (o.c., p. 505): "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his
arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated
blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn
destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better,
the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut
as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived
with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment
besides the black rope around his body, which he had
spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks
were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping
were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows,
presenting them to him."

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples *are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that* then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 797 533 776 The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

/160 cont./
756 of their people, and this one then becomes *bari*. Nobody
462 knows ahead of time who will become *bari*. Two persons
[184] might become *bari* at the /161/ same time and in the
same way, and both men and women.

[776] Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive
[754] peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female
[171] *pantché* and they killed her as the supposed cause of
misfortunes.

In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in
114 der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme
[113] /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American
Indian tribes/" *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XXIX,
Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the
Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I
tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among
tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their
773 mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin
myths" (*Ursprungs-mythen*), whose elements are quite
widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe
marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken
twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and
the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently,
there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (*Urmutter*;
Baldus, *o.c.*) as we find her, in the majority of cases,
among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal
[121] organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along
with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning
this, we must first consider that many myths make great
migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility,
incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the
second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

/162 cont./

773 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after
the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this
reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially
powerful *bari* capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded
the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The
man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This
mythical division of the command between a man and a
woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social
position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is
true that the female sex is considered very different from
the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source;
[128] see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the
Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

342

9: Eastern Bororo: houses of Indians of Meruri

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10: Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Diretor /Director Priest/ in Meruri.

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11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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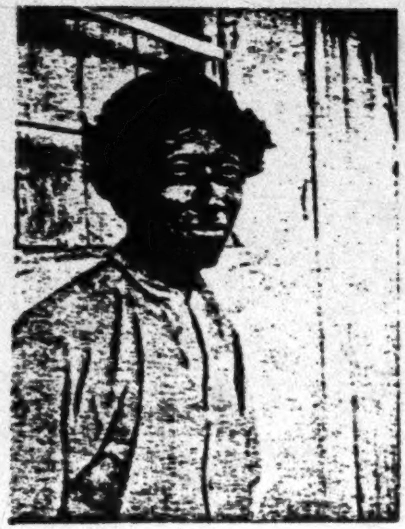

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13. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu (Meruri)

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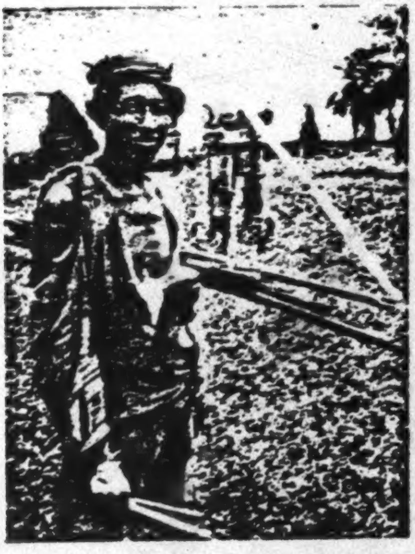

14. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu returning from hunting (Meruri)

5: Baldus--49 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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16. Eastern Bororo: old hunter (Meruri)

17. Eastern Bororo: lads in Meruri

18. Eastern Bororo: mother admiring her son (Sangradouro)

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19. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde, one of the bravest hunters of ounces; Alaysa Aroia Chereudda, girl 17 years old, of lively and critical spirit, who knows how to read and write perfectly; and the son of the married couple (Sangradouro)

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5: Baldus--51 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

20. Eastern Bororo: Alaysa Aroia Chereudda with her son (Sangradouro)

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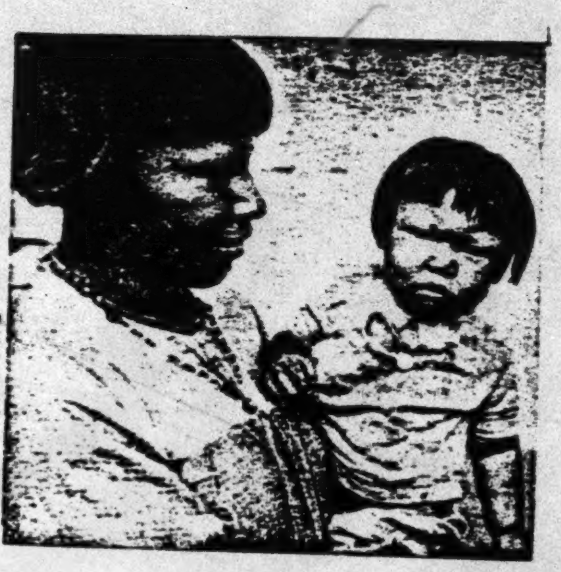

21. Eastern Bororo: Mario Bokodori Kudde with the metal earring of the clan of the Aroia in his ear lobe (Sangradouro)

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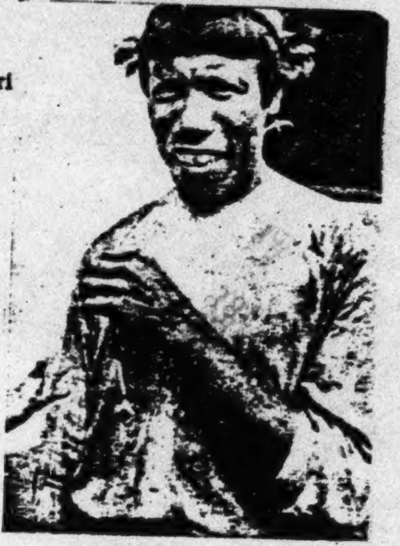

5: Baldus--52 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

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23. Eastern Bororo:
A smile by Mario
Bokodori Kudde
(Sangradouro)

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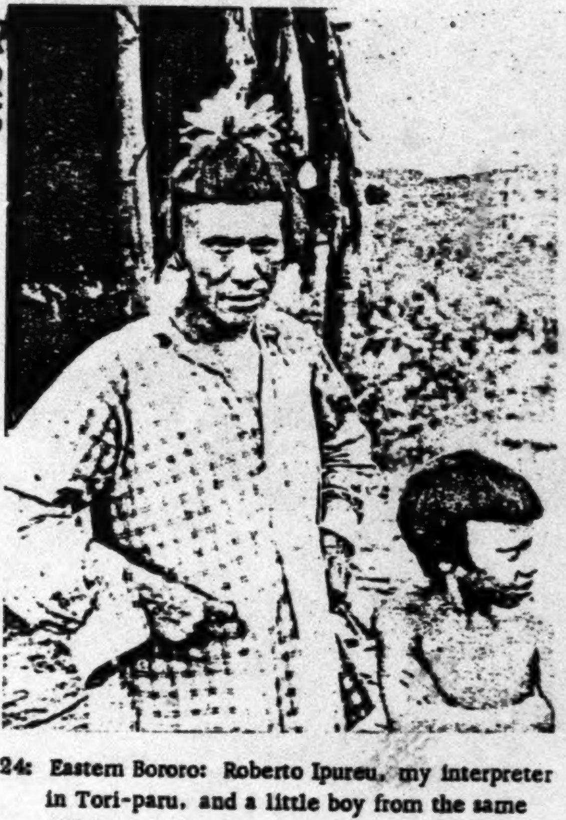
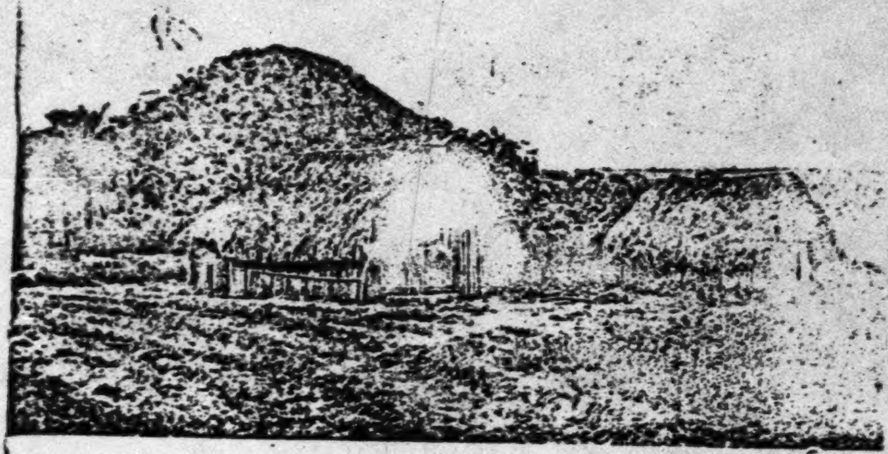


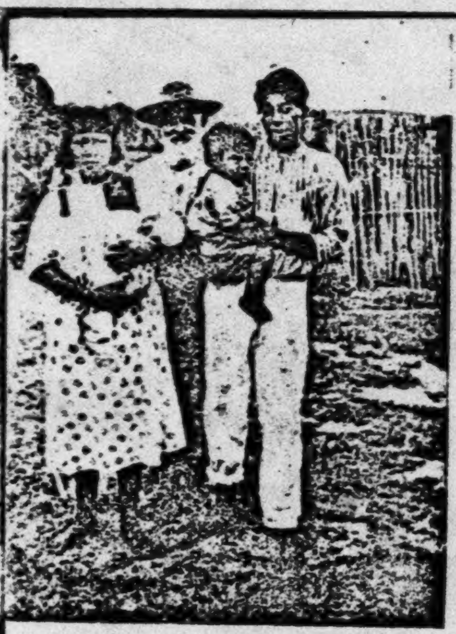
24: Eastern Bororo: Roberto Ipureu, my interpreter in Tori-paru, and a little boy from the same aldeia.



9. Bororo orientais: casas de indios de Meruri

End Plates Plate 1-8 not processed

10.
Bororo orientais: pequena familia com o Padre Diretor em Meruri



11.
Bororo orientais: pequena família com o Padre Diretor em Meruri

12.
Bororo orientais: casal voltando da caça (Meruri)

13.
Bororo orientais: Tiago Marques Aipobureu (Meruri)

14.
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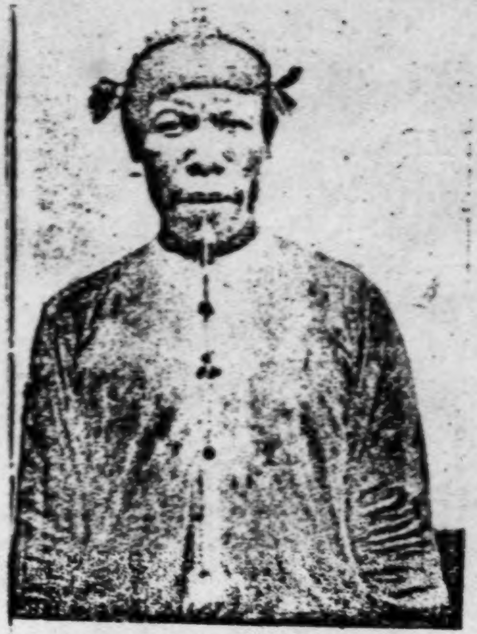
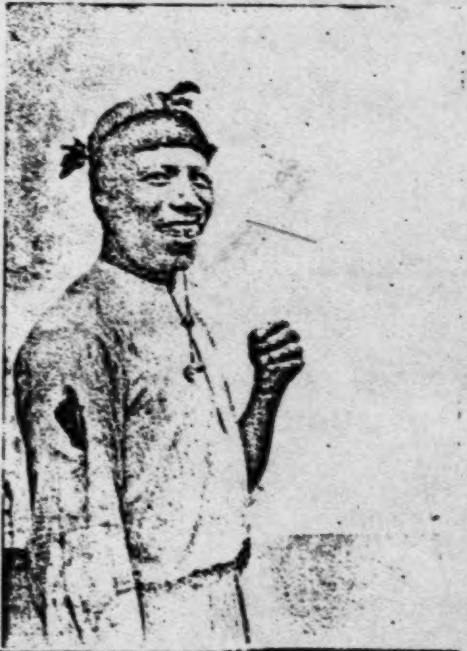


22.
Bororo orientais: Outro ar do Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori é nome do seu clan e significa "tatu canastra"; Kudde significa "grito" (Sangradouro)



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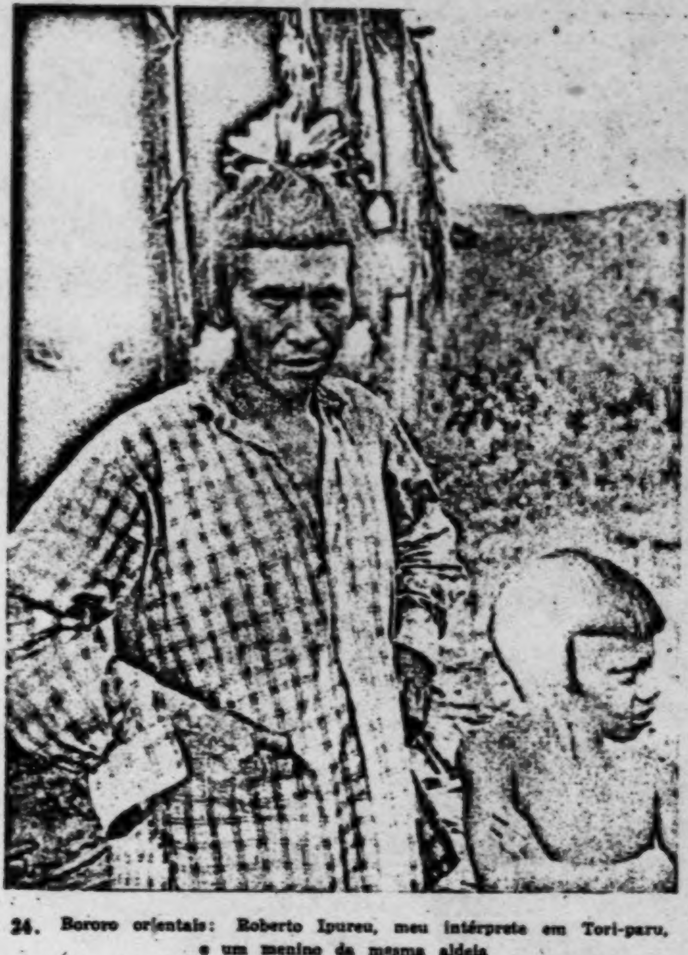

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SP8 Bororo

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HERBERT BALDUS
Doutor em filosofia pela Universidade de Berlim

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A POSIÇÃO SOCIAL DA MULHER ENTRE OS BORORO ORIENTAIS

Os Bororo orientais já foram tão minuciosamente descritos por Karl von den Steinen e pelo padre Antonio Colbacchini que só alguns pormenores restavam ainda por pesquizar, especialmente no que toca aos problemas da vida individual e social e da mudança de cultura.

No meado do seculo passado, o territorio de caça destes indios estendeu-se do Rio Paraguay até perto da cidade de Goyaz e do Rio das Mortes até perto de Miranda, por conseguinte de cerca de 50°30' a 57°30' de longitude oeste e de cerca de 15° a 20° de latitude sul. Supoz-se até agora que os Bororo não tivessem chegado tanto ao sul; mas os Tereno que moram nos arredores de Miranda, contaram-me que, em tempos passados, frequentemente as hordas de Bororo chegavam ás suas aldeias, não lhes fazendo, porém, guerra, porque, como dizia o velho chefe Tereno Nalikí, para explicar essa inclinação á paz: "Bororo é muito selvagem e não fica".

Mas os Bororo não eram, de modo nenhum, apenas um povo errante. Só durante tres mezes do ano, mais ou menos, passavam em grandes caçadas. O resto do tempo fixavam-se, plantavam milho, que conheciam desde ha muito, colhiam frutas silvestres, caçavam e pescavam nos arredores de suas aldeias.

Assim é, mais ou menos, hoje ainda. Apenas o seu territorio diminuiu. No este, oeste e sul, foram repelidos pelos brancos e no norte tiveram que fugir a indios ainda desconhecidos, aos quaes os Bororo dão o nome de Kayamo. De medo de todos os seus vizinhos, os Bororo vieram, ha mais de trinta anos, ás missões salesianas que foram, naquele tempo, fundadas na antiga estrada entre Cuyabá e o Rio Araguaya. Desde esta estrada, noutro tempo infestada por eles, por conseguinte desde cerca de 15°30' de latitude sul, o seu territorio atual estende-se a cerca de 17° de latitude sul e de cerca de 53° a cerca de 55°30' de longitude oeste.

As duas principaes missões dos salesianos entre os Bororo são atualmente a colonia São José no Rio Sangradouro, afluente do Rio das Mortes, que é chamada pelo povo simplesmente Sangradouro, e a colonia Coração de Jesus no Rio Barreiro, afluente do Rio das Garças, a qual é designada, geralmente, pelo nome bororo Meruri, "lugar das raias". Em janeiro de 1934, estive nessas missões. O caminho de Cuyabá à primeira tem cerca de 50 leguas; e de lá a Meruri são ainda cerca de 20 leguas.

Sangradouro está situado numa altura de 625 mts. e Meruri numa altura de 470 mts. O observatorio de Sangradouro apurou, desde a sua fundação no ano de 1924, como temperatura media, 27°. O maximo deu-se em janeiro de 1926, com 38°, o minimo em 20 de junho de 1933, com -5°. A média barometrica em Sangradouro é até agora 715. O observatorio de Meruri constatou como maximo de temperatura do ano de 1933, em 26 de agosto, 37,4°, como minimo do mesmo ano, em 22 de junho, -1,3°.

Em Sangradouro, a grande geada de junho de 1933 queimou as bananas, a mandioca, a cana de açucar, os tomates, o café, a manga, o abacate e o burití, enquanto que as plantas de espinhos, como as laranjeiras, os limoeiros e as roseiras não sofreram nada. Em Meruri planta-se milho, arroz, mandioca, cana de açucar, vinho, abacaxí e outras frutas.

Em Sangradouro viviam, em janeiro de 1931, 37 familias de Bororo, que contavam 185 individuos. Em janeiro de 1934 só 5 familias estavam lá, compostas de 11 adultos e 12 crianças.

Em 18 de janeiro de 1934 moravam em Meruri 28 familias de Bororo, a saber 32 homens, 28 mulheres, 33 crianças do sexo masculino e 44 crianças do sexo feminino, 137 individuos ao todo.

Nos arredores da povoação de garimpeiros Poxoreu, surgida mais ou menos em 1925 na margem ocidental do Rio Poxoreu, em cerca de 54°20' de longitude oeste e 16° de latitude sul, e que contava, em maio de 1933, 254 casas com 824 habitantes, viviam, entre os brasileiros, em janeiro de 1934, 70 Bororo, na maior parte homens. Cincoenta deles tinham emigrado, no ano anterior, de Sangradouro para lá; disseram ter vindo a convite do padre César, que durante oito annos tinha sido diretor de Sangradouro e foi transferido para Poxoreu em 1933. A casa salesiana, que existe lá desde 1932, é administrada por um padre e um irmão leigo; só é, porém, visitada por estes Bororo quando querem pedir esmola ou proteção contra os vizinhos brancos. Os 20 outros Bororo de Poxoreu vieram das aldeias controladas pela Comissão de Proteção aos Indios.

Quatro destas aldeias estão situadas no mato da região do Rio Vermelho, por conseguinte mais ou menos a 16°30' de latitude sul e entre 54° e 55° de longitude oeste; e há uma outra cerca de 20 leguas a sudoeste. Segundo a declaração do empregado da Comissão de Proteção aos Indios, snr. João Arena, essas cinco aldeias tinham cerca de 500 habitantes em 1933.

Entre Rondonopolis e Lageado, povoação de garimpeiros surgida ali por 1920 a 16°20' de latitude sul e 53°50' de longitude oeste e contando hoje mais de 2.000 habitantes, encontra-se ainda semelhante aldeia Bororo, de nome Tori-paru (*tori* significa em bororo: pedra, morro, e *paru*: embaixo, ao pé de; por conseguinte, o nome da aldeia significa: ao pé do morro). Dizem que a aldeia existe desde 1929, tendo tido, em 1933, 50 habitantes. No dia 31 de março de 1935 contei na casa dos homens, 35 homens. Alguns homens estavam ausentes, caçando. O numero total dos habitantes que moravam nas seis casas da aldeia, era, incluindo mulheres e crianças, superior a 100. Viviam da plantação de mandioca, arroz, feijão e mamão e, em parte, do trabalho nas fazendas vizinhas. Tori-paru está situada a cerca de duas leguas a oeste de Lageado.

Os Bororo dessas seis aldeias estão em contato com os brasileiros, mas, na maior parte, são menos influenciados pela nossa civilisação do que os indios de Sangradouro e Meruri, apezar de que muitos dos átuais habitantes das aldeias estavam antes nestas missões.

O numero total dos Bororo que vivem a este do Rio Paraguay não atinge 1.000, na medida do que me foi possivel verificar.

Os Bororo são índios altos e atleticos; os homens tem, ás vezes, mais de 1,75 mt. Como o clima e a agua no planalto de Mato Grosso são os melhores do mundo, o estado de saude é bom. E' verdade que os Bororo, ás vezes, prejudicam-no pela sua apaixonada geofagia. As paredes de terra dos edificios da missão em Meruri estavam esmigalhadas em muitas partes apezar de serem renovadas tres vezes por ano. Quem se pilhava junto a essas paredes, fôsse homem, mulher ou criança, tirava um pedaço e comia com prazer.

Parece que a maneira de se alimentar importada pela nossa civilisação tambem não tem efeito favoravel. Enquanto antes mesmo os velhos possuiam ainda todos os dentes, hoje muitos moços e moças já perderam grande parte da dentadura. Os Bororo indicam como causa disso o fato de, antigamente, ingerirem as bebidas e comidas mornas enquanto que atualmente ingerem-nas quasi sempre muito quentes; e ás vezes tambem a agua é muito fria. Não pude verificar o efeito do nosso sal nos Bororo. Em todo caso conheceram-no ha pouco.

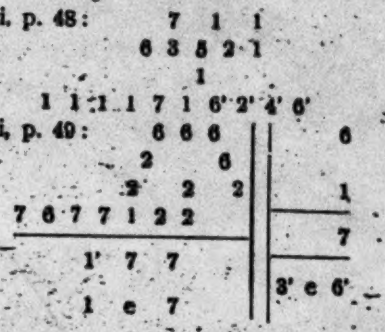
Se bem que estes indios usem a roupa que lhes fornecem as missões, trazem ainda os homens muitas vezes, sob as calças, o estojo peniano de oauassú e as mulheres sob a saia o traje tradicional de cortiça.

Muitos adultos e tambem crianças tem ainda os pendentes catitas no labio inferior perfurado e no lóbulo da orelha. Mas, poucos são os que ainda têm o buraco no septo nasal, no qual o clan dos Akario Bokodori Baaddageba mete a sua insignia de penas de arara. Adornos de cabeça são ainda freqüentemente usados pelos homens. Muitos adultos e crianças usam nos braços bonitas e estreitas fitas tecidas e cordas no peito e no ventre. Tambem a pintura do rosto é ainda apreciada.

Cada clan tem seus adornos especiaes. O Bororo Mario Bokodori Kudde, em Sangradouro, descreveu-me, por exemplo, os adornos figurados pelo padre Colbacchini no seu livro *I Bororos Orientali*, pags. 48 e 49, como pertencentes aos seguintes clans: 1 — akario bokodori baaddageba; 2 — bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae e manna; 3 — bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae e vie; 5 — bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae tchebegiugue; 6 — kie; 7 — bakorokuddu baaddageba; 1' — paiwe kujaguréugue; 2' — apiburegue; 3' — aorore kujaguréugue; 4' — iwaguddudogue kujaguréugue; 6' — aorore tchoréugue. Cada um dêsses adornos pertence aos seguintes clans designados pelos numeros acima mencionados:

Colbacchini, p. 48:

Colbacchini, p. 49:



Karl von den Steinen e o padre Antonio Colbacchini já relataram muita cousa interessante sobre a organisação social dos Bororo. Mas, ha especialmente, um problema que não foi pormenorizadamente estudado até agora: o da posição da mulher entre estes indios.

Entre quasi todos os povos primitivos da América do Sul é a mulher que leva a carga durante as marchas, enquanto o homem só anda com as armas na mão. Por isso, a maior parte dos observadores que fornecem noticias sôbre este assunto, dão-n'a como uma oprimida e escrava. E assim falam não sómente os viajantes que se contentam com um ligeiro exame, como tambem homens que durante decenios viveram em contato com uma tribu. Assim dizem tambem os padres salesianos dos Bororo; e acrescentam que, nas suas missões, só agora a mulher foi igualada ao homem. Mas êsse modo de ver prova apenas que, para conhecer os homens, não tem importancia decisiva passar a vida toda ao lado deles e tratá-los como bem nos parece; é necessário, para êsse fim, observar e respeitar os minimos detalhes de seu pensamento, de seu sentimento e de sua ação, isto é, tentar ver com os olhos deles o mundo e a eles mesmos.

Antigamente, já por ocasião do parto apareciam manifestações do comportamento do homem com respeito á mulher. Enquanto entre a maior parte das outras tribus de indios sulamericanos é costume que o marido, ostensivamente, não se importe com a parturiente, deixando toda a assistencia a uma velha prática, entre os Bororo o futuro pai levava pessoalmente a esposa para o mato, cortava com lasca de bambú, depois do parto, o cordão umbilical, atando um fio (Karl von den Steinen: *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1894, pag. 503).

A questão da preferência quanto aos nascimentos de varões ou mulheres tambem pode evidenciar a posição dos sexos. A respeito disso deve-se observar qual é o sexo que prefere e porque prefere. Muitas vezes os pais preferem os nascimentos de varões e as mães os de mulheres; outras vezes, porém, dá-se o contrário. Os nascimentos de varões podem ser preferidos por serem êles mais estimados que as mulheres ou porque um excesso de varões faz subir o valor das mulheres. Félix de Azara (*Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de La Plata*, 1847, t. I, pag. 202) relata que os Guaikurú e os Guaná matavam a maior parte de suas filhas recem-nascidas para que as poucas que deixavam com vida, fossem mais desejadas pelos homens e, por isso, mais felizes, costume que, como se supõe, levou os homens a roubar as mulheres de outras tribus (v. tambem: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós", Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata 1895).

Entre os Bororo não ha regra para essa preferencia, que depende, de cada vez, do desejo comum de ambos os pais. Com isto se apresenta na materia uma igualação dos sexos.

Sustentava-se que, sendo o infanticidio costumeiro num povo que está sob o predominio de um determinado sexo, — seja do homem ou da mulher, — sempre seriam poupadas as crianças do sexo dominante (M. Vaerting: *Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib*, I, *Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart im Frauenstaat*, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Citaram-se exemplos dos chamados Estados das amazonas de Africa. Mesmo que estes exemplos fossem dignos de confiança, não autorizam tais generalizações. Deve-se considerar que o sexo predominante pode inclinar-se a conservar o proprio numero menor do que o do sexo dominado, não sómente porque tal desproporção numerica pode fazer subir o proprio valor, mas tambem porque a sexualidade pode levar o individuo a que seja mais tolerante para com o outro sexo do que para com o proprio. Seja como for: o costume de matar as crianças de um determinado sexo só pode aclarar a posição dos sexos se conhecemos as causas.

Na América do Sul, o infanticidio é, antes de tudo, costume de tribus nomades e atinge, em geral, da mesma maneira ambos os sexos. Ordinariamente, as causas são economicas: a mãe de um povo nomade não pode todos os anos deixar com vida um filho, sem crear graças a isso um impedimento funesto para a alimentação conveniente de outro nascido anteriormente. Entre os Bororo estas causas são disfarçadas pela crença que estabelece uma conexão entre a criança esperada e ainda não nascida e os maus sonhos de um dos parentes e especialmente da propria futura mãe. Se, por exemplo, a mulher pouco antes do parto vê em sonho qualquer desgraça, sejam mortos, feridas, picaduras de cobras, epidemias, inundações, incendios etc., a criança esperada é considerada o causador da desdita e será sacrificada logo depois do nascimento. Assim exige a comunidade da tribu, que nada quer admittir que possa prejudicar-lhe a existencia. Em geral os pais não matam pessoalmente o recem-nascido: entregam-no para esse fim aos parentes. Em todo caso, o infanticidio entre os Bororo não revela preferencia de sexo.

Se a limitação dos partos num povo está em relação com a posição dos sexos, é questão que só se pode resolver mediante o exame de um caso concreto. Os Bororo me contaram que antigamente preparavam com as folhas de uma herva uma decocção que esterilizava para sempre as mulheres. Diziam que só dois velhos conheceram êsse remedio. P. Antonio Colbacchini (*A tribu dos Boróros*, Rio de Janeiro, 1919, pags. 58 e 59) escreve o seguinte: "Impedem a concepção e a gravidez por meio de algumas beberagens e tisanas que extraem de raizes, folhas e cascas de plantas — e conhecem grandes variedades dellas a que attribuem efficacia para o fim desejado. Toma-as a mulher e o homem, não só uma vez, mas muitas. A acção propria d'esses remedios é muito relativa e problematica, parece que muitos tiram o seu valor da superstição, como tive occasião de verificar. Não se pode negar, todavia, a efficacia de algumas das poções que denominam *Jorubo bó et ore bocuo-re-u.* Ao que parece, as substancias de que mais usam para impedir a concepção em geral são muito adstringentes, sendo, pois, o seu principio activo provavelmente o tanino".

Os Bororo diziam-me tambem que usavam de differentes meios abortivos. Segundo Colbacchini (*o. c.*, pag. 59) "provocam o aborto por meios physicos — trabalho forçado, carga de pesos enormes, pancadas no ventre, ou compressão exagerada delle... ou tambem tomando alguns alimentos ou beberagens que podem produzir tal effeito".

Tambem Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 503) menciona que o aborto por meios internos é freqüente. Quanto pudemos ver, da limitação dos partos entre os Bororo não se podem tirar conclusões a respeito da posição dos sexos.

Nesta matéria é interessante examinar o numero dos nascimentos, como pude averiguar com ajuda dos livros da parochia no dia 18 de janeiro de 1934 na missão de Meruri. Naturalmente é de notar a esse respeito que a influencia dos salesianos produziu alterações fundamentais. Na lista seguinte, os numeros que seguem os nomes dos pais indicam os seus provaveis anos de vida. Um *v* a seguir a estes numeros significa viuvo ou viuva de um matrimonio anterior. Se os filhos são de um matrimonio anterior do marido, o numero deles é posto entre parênteses; sendo de um matrimonio anterior da mulher, o numero está entre colchetes.

			filhos			
			vivos		mortos	
	pai	mãe	*m*	*f*	*m*	*f*
1	Alexio 50	Alvina 55	2			1
2	Antonio 55 v	Assumpção 65 v	(1) [1]	[1]	(3) [1]	[1]
3	Attilho 23	Frederica 17			1	
4	Braz 50	Josefina 38	2	4	1	3
5	Benedito 65	Loiduvina 55	1	1		
6	Bentino 20	Dosithea 20				
7	Baptista 26	Erminia 21	1		1	
8	Claudio 22	Ismaelita 19		1		
9	Domingo 50	Natalia 52		1	1	
10	Elias 21	Conceição 18	2			
11	Estanislão 45	Angelina 45		1		1
12	Eugenio 18	Cecilia 16		1		
13	João 38	Regina 19				
14	João Cagliero 50	Judith 50	1	4	2	2
15	João Baptista 50 v	Lucina 20	(2)	(1) 1	(4)	
16	Modesto 35	Anita 26	2	2		
17	Sebastião 55 v	Aida 40 v	(2) [1]		(1) [1]	
18	Thiago 35	Maria Luisa 35	1	1		2
19	Ugo 27	Claudia 22		2		
20	Vito 45	Angelina ?	3	2		
21	Rafael 60 v	Catarina 32	(1)	(3)		

			filhos			
			vivos		mortos	
	pai	mãe	m	f	m	f
22	Manoel 32	Jacinta 45 v	[1] 1	4		
23	José Maria 27	Theresa 26		1		1
24	Justino 39	Clotilde 35	2	1	1	3
25	Joaquim 70	Irene 50		(2)	(1)	(1)
26	Cirilo 35	Maria 42 v	[1]	[1] 2		
27	Luiz 50	Florisbela 55	1	1	2	1
28	Gabriel Pilar 34 (abandonou a mulher)		2	1		1
		Total:	31	39	20	17
	orfãos irmãos		1	2		
	» »		1	2		
	orfão		1			
	orfã			1		
	3 solteiros					
	1 viuvo					
	1 viuva					

De diferentes maneiras tem-se tentado explicar a *couvade*, o chamado sobreparto do homem, êsse costume muito espalhado especialmente na América do Sul, segundo o qual o pai é obrigado a deitar-se durante dias inteiros, não fazer trabalho pesado e abster-se de muitos alimentos importantes. "Alguns autores julgam o costume da *couvade*, que se encontra entre muitos povos primitivos, um gráo intermedio entre a família matriarcal e a patriarcal. Esse costume é considerado como áto simbolico do reconhecimento publico da paternidade no recemnascido, ainda que, provavelmente, tambem algo religioso nisso coopere". (*Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, herausgegeben von Georg Buschan, 3. Auflage, Stuttgart, 1922, t. I, p. 8).

Os resultados de pesquizas mais modernas mostram indubitavelmente que o fim deste costume é defender de males a criança que, nos primeiros tempos da vida é imaginada em conexão direta com o pai, por assim dizer, como parte dele. Notaveis etnólogos, hoje, entendem que a *couvade* significa uma preferencia do homem, porque o fato de determinados costumes serem relativos exclusivamente a um sexo prova, segundo dizem, que esse sexo, por meio dêsses costumes, é colocado acima do outro.

Entre os Bororo, pai e mãe jejuavam durante alguns dias depois do nascimento da criança, não raro, porém, tambem até durante dois mezes, mas ambos continuavam com os seus trabalhos. Por conseguinte, verdadeira *couvade* não existia entre eles. Colbacchini (*o. c.*, p. 61) escreve, sobre o jejum: "Durante tres ou quatro dias, a mãe abstem-se de carnes, contentando-se com alguns caldos de milho ou raizes e fructas do mato, adoçadas com mel selvagem, ou assucar, se conseguem obtel-o. É costume o marido acompanhar a dieta da mulher abstendo-se de carne; póde-se mesmo dizer que a sua dieta é mais rigorosa do que a da mulher. Assim procede para que o neonato cresça forte e robusto e possa resistir, sem soffrer, à fome e à sede".

Karl von den Steinen (*a. c.*, p. 503) refere, a respeito: "Durante dois dias, pai e mãe não comem nada, no terceiro dia podem tomar só um pouco de agua quente. Se o pai comesse, ele e a criança ficariam doentes". Acrescenta: "Até a volta da menstruação, a mulher não pode banhar-se".

Colbacchini (*ibidem*) escreve, porém, sobre os Bororo por êle observados: "A mãe banha-se no dia seguinte ou algumas horas depois do parto".

Seja como for, em geral pode-se dizer que, segundo os costumes relacionados com o nascimento, os progenitores se comportam de maneira semelhante, ficando evidente, a respeito disso, uma igualação dos sexos entre os Bororo.

Tambem as iniciações de jóvens pertencem aos costumes que, muitas vezes, distinguem só um dos dois sexos. Entre o Bororo é uma festa os rapazes receberem os estojos penianos. Precisam passar no mato o dia anterior, sem qualquer alimentação (von den Steinen, *o. c.*, p. 504). Não sei se a primeira menstruação tambem é festejada entre os Bororo, como me foi dado observar, por exemplo, entre os Tapirapé.

Como os Bororo me contaram, durante a menstruação da mulher casada, esta e o marido jejuavam, para se tornarem fortes. Assim podiam lutar com a onça; a mulher tambem lutava, sendo atacada pelo felino. E assim podiam também correr mais depressa que o avestruz.

Como os Kaingang, tambem os Bororo dividem-se em duas "metades" exogamas, os *tugarege* e os *tcherae*, o que, segundo Antonio Colbacchini (*I Bororos Orientali*, Pianta del villagio) significa os "fortes" e os "débeis". Tambem entre os Kaingang, uma das "metades" tem "mais força" do que a outra; e essa distinção é feita até entre os quatro "grupos" sociais da sua tribu.

As "metades" dos Bororo não são, porém, como as dos Kaingang, patrilineares, e sim matrilineares. Elas não são divididas, como entre os Kaingang, cada qual em dois "grupos", mas em sete, que designarei com o termo "clan".

Enquánto entre os Kaingang, onde a criança pertence á "metade" do pai, este dá o nome ao filho e á filha, às crianças da tribu matrilinear dos Bororo o nome é dado pelo irmão da mãe ou por outro parente mais vélho dela. Os Bororo diziam-me a respeito disso: "Este que dá o nome, pensa e pensa e pensa e depois dá o nome. É o nome de um parente morto. Cada um só tem um nome durante a vida inteira. Alguns dias depois do nascimento, este que dá o nome levanta os braços do menino ou da menina e diz o nome. Depois, êle perfura tambem por meio de um osso o labio inferior do menino".

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [*aroe*] presso gl'Indi *Orari* [*Bororo Orientali*] del Matto Grosso", Festschrift für P. W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel — Mödling, p. 734) relata a comunicação feita pelo Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, segundo a qual os nomes de cada Bororo podem ser quatro, seis e ainda mais.

Segundo von den Steinen (*o. c.*, p. 503), os nomes designam animais e plantas. Colbacchini (*A tribu dos Borôros*, pp. 48 e 49) confirma isto e acrescenta: "Os nomes proprios ou pessoaes derivam de animaes ou vegetaes ou de algum antigo heróe d'elles; somente aos membros do grupo, a que pertencem os individuos, taes nomes se applicam, de modo que não só as duas dynastias ("metades" [H. B.]) dos *Tugarege* e *Cerae* têm nomes proprios determinados aos seus membros, mas tambem cada grupo tem nomes exclusivamente reservados aos individuos proprios, não podendo ser applicados aos de outro grupo, ainda que da mesma dynastia e casta. Por exemplo: o grupo dos *Apiborege* da casta dos *Tugarege* usa destes nomes *Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri*, e outros; os *Paiwe* da mesma casta usam, entre muitos outros, estes: *Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooáa.* Nunca, porém, haverá promiscuidade entre os nomes dos dous grupos; nunca os *Apiborege* usarão dos nomes dos *Paiwe*, e vice-versa, ainda que pertençam á mesma dynastia dos *Tugarege*. O mesmo costume rege os *Cerae* que nunca usarão os nomes proprios dos *Tugarege*, nem dos grupos d'elles. Por exemplo: os *Bocodori cerae*, os *Coge cibae cerae*, os *Aorori*, tomam os seguintes nomes proprios, para membros das suas familias: *Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu*; os *Kié* têm para o proprio uso os seguintes: *Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokivo.* Nunca se dará o caso de uma familia dos *Bocodori* dar aos seus membros nomes usados pelos *Kié*. — Ao ser animal ou vegetal cujo nome usam, não attribuem qualquer culto ou veneração, nem consideração alguma. Por exemplo: um individuo a quem fosse dado o nome de *Piodudo* (beija-flôr ou colibri) não professará, por isso, attenção especial a esse passarinho, nem terão, por isso, qualquer immunidade os beija-flôres. O mesmo succede em relação a outros animaes ou vegetaes".

Em geral, a criança, nas primeiros anos, é guardada pela mãe.

Vaerting (*o. c.*, pp. 6-9) designou como produto do predominio feminino o costume conhecido de algumas regiões da antiga Europa, Africa e Asia, segundo o qual a mulher toma a iniciativa no amor e no casamento. Observou-se comportamento semelhante entre algumas tribus sulamericanas; sejam mencionados, por exemplo, os Choroti no Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: *Indianerleben*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

Colbacchini (*o. c.*, pp. 55 e 56) escreve dos Bororo: "Em geral e na maior parte dos casos é a mulher que precede ao homem no pedido de casamento. A moça que se sente levada a estimar um moço e que deseja unir-se a elle consulta, em particular a mãe, si ainda vive, ou a irman mais velha. Si tal proposta encontra bom acolhimento da mãe, esta tomará parte activa na satisfação do desejo da filha. Procura, então indagar, entre as suas companheiras e os parentes do rapaz, si a filha seria acceita de bom grado como esposa. No caso affirmativo, a mãe com a filha preparam alguns guisados que julgam ou sabem ser do gosto do rapaz, e a mãe da pretendente ou, na falta d'ella, a irman mais velha, sabendo que o rapaz está em casa, vai ao meio dia procural-o levando em um cesto de vime as iguarias preparadas, para ao mesmo tempo fazer-lhe a proposta e pedido official. Entrando em casa, dirige-se ao moço, que estará sentado perto do fogo trabalhando nas flechas; e lhe dirá: — *A wogae i roino* — (A procural-o vim) — e lhe fará a proposta. Se o joven quer acceital-a, nada dirá, mas estenderá a mão para receber o presente enviado que porá ao seu lado. E com esse gesto está acceito o pedido. Concluido o ajuste, rejubilando de alegria, irá logo levar á filha a grata noticia. Tanto a progenitora como os parentes da noiva põem-se então a preparar a casa, porque é costume que o homem vá habitar na casa da mulher. Prepararão o fogo, a esteira para dormir, o recipiente para a agua; depois cozinharão alguma cousa e esperarão. Ao escurecer, o rapaz se recolherá á casa da noiva e, sem nada dizer, entrará e se collocará ao lado da que desde aquelle momento é a sua esposa. A mãe ou a irman irão á casa do noivo buscar o que lhe pertence: arcos, flechas, etc. e levam-lhe tudo, mas não entregarão em suas mãos, mas sim à esposa que receberá e collocará tudo em ordem, emquanto o esposo ficará tranquillo junto ao fogo. Com este cerimonial está feito o casamento; desde aquelle momento habitarão juntos, chamar-se-ão com os nomes de *It'ore-do, it'ore-duje* (minha mulher, meu marido)."

É verdade que Colbacchini (*o. c.*, p. 56) refere que em certos casos tambem o homem ou sómente os pais podem ser a parte pretendente.

O relatorio de Karl von den Steinen sobre os Bororo orientais visitados por êle difere em muita cousa das descrições de Colbacchini. Não diz palavra alguma da iniciativa da mulher e observa unicamente (*o. c.*, p. 501): "Os rapazes tratam a tempo de achar mulher, e a respeito disso ha dois costumes em relação ao traje. Os lobulos das orelhas da moça são perfurados pelo futuro marido dela (os do rapaz pelo pai); se ele mesmo não casa com ela, o filho dele casará com ela. Quem coloca um estojo peniano num rapaz, "aparenta-se" com ele e casa-se com a irmã ou tia dele".

Von den Steinen (*o. c.*, p. 500) fala até de roubo de mulheres dentro da tribu e menciona que só uma parte dos homens tinha mulher permanentemente.

É interessante o que este explorador alemão sabe contar das moças na casa dos homens (*o. c.*, p. 502): "As moças, em parte, são trazidas publicamente durante o dia e pintadas e adornadas brincando e gracejando; em parte são apanhadas tarde, à noite. Numa noite vimos como os solteiros que tinham estado deitados diante do ranchão, assaltaram a multidão de mulheres que voltava de uma reunião de pranto. Duas foram aprisionadas depois de uma luta silenciosa, embrulhadas em cobertores de maneira que ficaram irreconheciveis, e levadas para a casa dos homens. Mas uma das duas era, como vimos na manhã seguinte, a Maria, rica de experiencias, em cuja resistencia não pode ter havido intenção muita seria. Hontem não querias casar-te? perguntei. — Agora já me casei, respondeu tranquilamente. Estava deitada com toda a comodidade sob um cobertor vermelho ao lado do seu preferido, e ambos quebravam nozes de palmeira. Um dia vimos Moguyokuri animar os jovens para enfeitar Maria, que na luta mostrou-se tão brava e era agora tão submissa. Imediatamente seis moços lançaram-se sobre ela, pintando-a."

Que, porém, a moça levada para a casa dos homens não figurava lá, de maneira alguma, como escrava sem vontade propria, é evidente e graças à seguinte observação de Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, p. 489): "Enquanto as mulheres, de ordinario, ficavam afastadas da casa dos homens, raras vezes faltava lá um par de enamorados que bincava deitado sob um cobertor vermelho comum. Ninguem se importava com isso, a não ser alguns amigos atormentados por um pouco de ciumes, que atualmente tinham sido desatendidos pela amante comum e tinham de contentar-se com estar sentados ao lado do par, conversando com êle."

Tais costumes na casa dos homens não parecem ter existido entre os Bororo com os quais os missionarios salesianos passaram a vida. Pelo menos, Colbacchini, jamais refere semelhante cousa. Tambem eu não vi mulher alguma na casa dos homens em Tori-paru.

Tem-se afirmado que o costume segundo o qual um sexo é muito mais velho no matrimonio do que o outro, indica um predominio do primeiro (Vaerting, *o. c.*, p. 22 e seg.), alegando exemplos do Egypto, da America e da India. De indios sulamericanos, por exemplo do povo de caçadores e colecionadores dos Chamacoco no Chaco

(Baldus: *Indianerstudien*, Leipzig, 1931, p. 58), e dos Mojo, agricultores já cristianizados pelos jesuitas, no Rio Mamoré na Bolivia (Richard N. Wegner: *Zum Sonnentor durch altes Indianerland*, Darmstadt, 1931, p. 92), tornou-se conhecida a chamada escola matrimonial, instituição segundo a qual adolescentes casam-se com velhas e anciãos com moças novas, representando os mais velhos, de certa maneira, um papel educativo. Não conhecemos entre os Bororo regras semelhantes. Sobre as proporções de edade no matrimonio observadas, em 1934, na missão de Meruri, veja-se a lista acima reproduzida. Segundo esta lista, de 4 casais ambos os conjuges tinham a mesma edade, de 16 o marido tinha mais edade e de 6 a mulher tinha mais edade. De 7, o marido era até cinco anos mais velho; de 3, era de cinco a dez anos mais velho; de 6, era mais de dez anos mais velho. De 3, a mulher era até cinco anos mais velha; de 2, ela era de cinco a dez anos mais velha; de 1, ela era mais de dez anos mais velha.

Deve-se considerar como conseqüencia prejudicial da exogamia usada entre os Bororo o fáto de que solteiros e viuvos de ambos os sexos tem de ficar, muitas vezes, sem poder casar-se por longo tempo, ou mesmo para sempre, por falta do correspondente consorte da outra "metade"; isto foi observado tambem por Colbacchini (*o. c.*, p. 50).

Pode-se julgar a severidade com que a separação das "metades" exogamas é guardada tambem depois do casamento, pelas seguintes observações de Colbacchini (*o. c.*, pp. 49 e 50): "Pelo totemismo delles, é absolutamente prohibido aos homens de uma dynastia, falarem, rirem, ou somente repararem, ou olharem as mulheres de outra dynastia. É isso observado meticulosa e escrupulosamente. Os homens de qualquer edade, encontrando-se por acaso no caminho ou em qualquer logar com uma ou mais mulheres, não sómente deixarão de estar parados, não as olharão, o voltarão mesmo o olhar para o lado opposto, como para indicar que querem até fugir ao perigo e occasião de encontrarem-se os olhares. A falta a este tradicional preceito é considerada gravissima, e o culpado cahiria na indignação geral, na censura de todos, pois que é geralmente julgado máo e immoral qualquer olhar ou sorriso entre pessoas de sexo differente e diversa dynastia. Nunca as mulheres de uma dynastia deixar-se-ão ver comendo ou bebendo na presença de homens de outra dynastia, e vice-versa. Não ha, porém, prohibição alguma dessas relações entre individuos da mesma dynastia, sejam elles homens ou mulheres. Vendo-se, portanto, um homem falar com uma mulher, deve-se logo entender que são do mesmo ramo dynastico porque em publico, mesmo entre marido e mulher, observam-se as mesmas regras, ainda que não tão escrupulosamente; será porém difficil que o homem fale ou brinde com a propria mulher em publico, que a coloque ao seu lado ou que estejam juntos, a não ser quando saem de casa e vão ambos apanhar frutas, tuberculos ou outras cousas na floresta; considera-se isso um acto privado".

A posição do marido, condicionada por esta separação severa que o obriga a passar muito tempo na casa dos homens, entremostra, junto com a organisação matrilinear e matrilocal, o matrimonio como instituição socialmente secundaria, até quasi como assunto particular. A familia, não a composta do marido, da mulher e dos filhos de ambos, mas a que consiste na mãe e em todos os parentes consanguineos dela, forma entre os Bororo a célula primitiva e a base da sociedade. O estado de pertencer á familia da mãe não é alterado pelo casamento nem no homem nem na mulher; somente o homem passa a dormir, depois do casamento, na casa da sogra (matrilocal), enquanto a mulher fica a vida inteira na casa da propria mãe; melhor dito: o homem, depois do casamento, tem de tornar maior a casa da sogra por meio de uma peça anexa, e a mulher e com isso a familia materna fica proprietaria dessa parte contigua do edificio.

Karl von den Steinen observa a respeito disto (*o. c.*, p. 501): "A jovem esposa fica com os filhos na casa dos pais. O jovem marido sómente passa a noite nessa casa e mora durante o dia na casa dos homens, se não está caçando. O jovem casal tem um fogo para si, a avó com os netos está sentada um pouco á parte. Assim continua até a morte dos avós. A avó amamenta, quando a jovem mulher vai com o marido á caça ou quando ela procura nozes de palmeira no mato; 'elas sempre têm leite ainda, quando as filhas casam'."

Outros carateristicos da chamada familia materna ficam evidentes pelas seguintes indicações do mesmo explorador (*o. c.*, p. 502): "As mulheres do ranchão (as moças na casa dos homens) receberam dos seus amantes flechas com pontas compridas de bambú. Cada um entregou duas, e a moça tomou-as, tendo se acocorado, com cara indiferente. Quando, uma vez, estive presente, contei 18 de tais flechas de amor para uma moça. Elas são entregues ao irmão ou ao irmão da mãe". O destino destas flechas dá, pois, uma ideia das relações de propriedade dentro da familia materna.

Interessante a este respeito é tambem o costume segundo o qual, sendo morta uma onça, o couro é entregue "ao irmão da mulher recem-morta ou ao tio do homem recem-morto" (von den Steinen, *ibidem*). É de supor que êsse tio é um irmão da mãe.

Por fim, um dos indicios mais importantes da familia materna: "Foi sempre como protetor natural da mulher, que seu irmão se nos apresentou" (von den Steinen, *ibidem*).

Uma conseqüência da organisação matrilinear que, ao mesmo tempo, carateriza a preponderante importancia social da mulher, é o fáto de ser um clan destinado a extinguir-se, logo que faltam as mulheres. Tambem Colbacchini (*o. c.*, p. 50) refere isso.

Em geral, os Bororo são monogamos. Colbacchini (*o. c.*, p. 57) observa a respeito disto: "Os poucos casos esporadicos de poligamia que se encontram são reprovados por todos. Dá-se, de ordinario, o caso de poligamia latente quando um homem desposa uma mulher que tem uma filha mocinha, ou quando se casa com uma mocinha cuja mãe, viuva ou sem marido, é ainda moça. Neste caso é facilima a poligamia, ainda que occulta, porque oficialmente o homem será o marido da mãe ou da filha e nunca da filha e mãe".

Os Bororo falaram-me de tais casos de bigamía, o que é confirmado pela seguinte observação de Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, p. 501): "Em Thereza Christina, aparentemente só Moguyokuri (o chefe) vivia em poligamía. Suas esposas eram uma mulher de certa edade e a filha do primeiro matrimonio dela; ele casou-se com uma viuva que tinha uma filha, e quando a mãe tornou-se feia e a filha ficou bonita, 'casou-se' tambem com a filha".

Von den Steinen (*ibidem*) acrescenta, porém: "Mas nas aldeias, a poligamía dos mais velhos é geralmente a regra." Esse autor parece supô-lo baseando-se sómente no relatorio de Waehneldt sobre os Bororo no Jaurú, (citado na mesma pagina), porque não visitou pessoalmente as aldeias. Se fossemos inclinados a estabelecer relações entre o fáto de existir entre os Bororo em geral a monogamía e só em raros casos a bigamía com mãe e filha, e a instituição segundo a qual a filha mora toda a vida com a mãe, o marido vai morar em casa dela e ela fica proprietaria da casa, deveriamos objetar a isto que em semelhantes circumstancias a poliginia não é sómente imaginavel, mas tambem em uso, como mostram exemplos da Africa.

Por outro lado, certamente, caso algum entre os povos primitivos me é conhecido, no qual a patrilocalidade e a patrilinearidade se unem com a poliandría, enquanto a ultima em combinação com a matrilocalidade e a matrilinearidade não só é possivel, como tambem existente, como fiquei sabendo justamente entre os Bororo. Os indios em Meruri, por exemplo Aipoburеu, chamado Tiago Marques pelos missionarios, me contaram que antigamente acontecia uma mulher energica ter dois maridos se era capaz de mantê-los a ambos com o produto da colheita. Diziam que, certamente, tais casos tinham sido muito raros. Mais tarde, um caso desses me foi afirmado em Sangradouro pelo Bororo Kudde, pertencente ao clan dos Bokodori e chamado Mario pelos brancos.

Pode-se dizer, em geral, que entre povos primitivos com instituições matrilocais e matrilineares, o matrimonio tem regras menos fixas do que entre povos com instituições patrilocais e patrilineares. Entre os primeiros, tudo se ajusta de maneira mais facil e mais natural, os sexos se unem numericamente segundo a necessidade e a capacidade, podendo separar-se tambem com menos impedimentos, por ficarem as crianças com a mãe. Entre os Bororo, a iniciativa do divorcio pode partir tanto do marido como da mulher.

É fora de dúvida que, entre os povos primitivos, não só o homem, mas tambem a mulher, são respeitados pelo outro sexo e desejados para o matrimonio, segundo a capacidade de trabalhar. Nisso, porém, ha exceções, como entre nós: ás vezes, a mulher mais preguiçosa tem, graças ao seu *"sex appeal"*, o marido mais trabalhador, e um ronceiro tem a esposa mais diligente.

Não se pode dizer, generalizando, que o sexo que faz o trabalho mais pesado e economicamente mais valioso tenha posição superior ou inferior ao outro. Tambem, muitas vezes, não é possivel decidir qual é o trabalho mais pesado ou economicamente o mais valioso. Assim, Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, p. 490) refere dos Bororo, que, entre eles, "apezar de toda a caça, o alimento vegetal procurado pelas mulheres tem maior importancia por ser conseguido com mais regularidade e em abundancia. As mulheres buscam as raizes por meio de um páo apontado, trepam com grande agilidade às palmeiras entre as quais o oaussú e o acurí tem a preferencia, recolhem as nozes, cortam na copa a "couve de palmeira", procuram as frutas do jatobá e do piquí etc.".

Os trabalhos tipicos dos homens são, entre os indios, a caça, o cortar e lavrar madeira e a construção da casa. Todavia, tambem a respeito destes trabalhos ha exceções: em algumas tribus a mulher acompanha o marido na caça, atirando mesmo, em certos casos, com o arco; em outras tribus, por exemplo entre os Bororo, ela corta certas arvores para obter as nozes de palmeiras e o mel; em muitas, ela tambem ajuda na construção da casa. Mas, considerando esta divisão geral do trabalho, poderiamos, talvez, ser levados a supôr, à primeira vista, que se desejaria livrar dos trabalhos mais pesados a mulher que, na maior parte dos indios, é, em média, menor (3) e tem menos força muscular do que o homem, além de estar impedida pela menstruação e pela maternidade. Averiguando mais rigorosamente, porém, descobre-se que, a não ser em poucas tribus de agricultores, como, por exemplo, os Tapirapé, a mulher tem trabalhos não menos pesados do que o homem, por exemplo o levar cargas nas marchas. Entre os Bororo, a mulher é até capaz de levar cargas mais pesadas do que o homem, e por isso, nos trabalhos da colheita nas missões, muitas vezes ela ganha mais do que este.

Tambem é erro pensar que entre os indios exclusivamente a mulher se dedique à colheita do alimento vegetal silvestre e à agricultura. Ambos os sexos recolhem todo o comestivel que podem achar, se bem que entre os povos de caçadores as mulheres se ocupam de preferencia da colheita de vegetais, que representam o alimento mais importante e que mais regularmente pode ser obtido, enquanto os homens se esforçam para fornecer a carne. A agricultura, porém, entre muitas tribus — (e na maior parte das tribus que visitei) — é quasi exclusivamente trabalho do homem, e a mulher participa, em algumas destas tribus, por exemplo entre os Tapirapé, sómente da propria lavoura com o páo de cavar, isto é, do trabalho de meter no solo os grãos de sementes, milho, algodão ou amendoim, mas não do de revolver a terra e do de plantar tuberculos, como a mandioca e o cará, ou do de plantar bananas, etc.

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(3) Como contraste sejam indicadas as seguintes tribus descritas por Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, *Rondonia*, 3.ª ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): «*Tembés* — Estatura masculina, em geral, menor que a feminina. Mulheres altas e magras; homens baixos e gordos. *Mundurucús* — São musculosos. Homens mais baixos que as mulheres, relativamente. Mulheres de bi-acromial relativamente mais largo. *Arâras* — As dimensões do tipo masculino são menores, em relação ás das mulheres. Mulheres de quadril estreito e bi-acromial largo».

Por fim, enganamo-nos quando acreditamos que os trabalhos leves como o entrançar, fiar e tecer estejam, em toda parte, a cargo das mulheres. Entre os Bororo e Tereno, o homem fia e tece; entre os Karajá e Tapirapé, o entrançar é trabalho masculino.

Na lista seguinte demonstro a divisão de trabalho dos sexos entre oito tribus diferentes que visitei. Um ponto de interrogação indica que o trabalho é feito ou foi feito antigamente na tribu em questão, mas que não fiquei sabendo a que sexo êle era atribuido. Os sinais nas rubricas dos Kaingang referem-se aos Kaingang hodiernos de Palmas; alguns trabalhos ahi designados por meio de um traço transversal como não existentes, estavam, sem duvida, antigamente, em uso.

DIVISÃO DE TRABALHO

	HOMEM								MULHER							
	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kaingang	Kaskihá	Terena	Karajá	Tapirapé	Guayakí	Bororo	Chamacoco	Kaingang	Kaskihá	Terena	Karajá	Tapirapé	Guayakí
construcção da casa	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
cortar madeira	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
buscar lenha	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+
cortar ou incisar as arvores para extração do mel	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
cortar as palmeiras para lograr os frutos	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
caçar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
recolher o alimento vegetal silvestre	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
recolher os pequenos animais	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
recolher o mel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
pescar com a rede	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
pescar com o arco e a flecha	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
pescar envenenando a agua	+	—	—	—	?	+	+	—	+	—	—	—	?	+	+	—
cozer	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
moquear no borralho os pequenos animais e os peixes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
moquear sobre o moquém os grandes animais	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	—	—
trazer agua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
levar a carga nas marchas	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+
carregar os filhos pequenos	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
carregar os filhos grandes nas marchas	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—
pintar o rosto	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
pintar o corpo	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
tatuar	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
perfurar o labio inferior do menino	+	?	—	—	—	+	—	+	—	?	—	—	—	—	+	—
perfurar o lobulo da orelha do menino	+	+	—	?	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	?	+	+	—	—
perfurar o lobulo da orelha da menina	+	—	—	?	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	?	+	+	—	—
fabricação do estojo peniano	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
fabricação do traje da mulher	—	—	—	?	?	—	—	—	+	+	—	?	?	+	—	—
fabricação da corda feita de cabelo	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+
fabricação de cordas grossas	+	+	—	+	?	+	+	—	—	+	—	+	?	+	+	+
fabricação de cordas finas	+	+	—	+	?	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	+	+	+
fabricação de trabalhos trançados	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	+	—
entrançar (cestos etc.)	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	—	+
entrançar a bolsa de caça de uma folha de palmeira	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
fiar e tecer ou fazer crochê	+	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	—
fabricação dos instrumentos para o fiar e o tecer	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—
elaboração da madeira	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
cultivo de cabaças	?	+	—	+	?	+	+	—	?	—	—	—	?	—	—	—
elaboração de cabaças.	+	+	—	+	?	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	—
elaboração de ossos, unhas, dentes, mariscos, pedras ou metais	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
fabricação de enfeites de plumas	+	—	—	?	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	?	+	—	+	—
fabricação de vasos de barro	—	—	?	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+

Quanto, entre os Bororo, a vida sexual está em relação com a posição social dos sexos, demonstrou-me a seguinte declaração do Tiago Aipobureu em Meruri. Tendo eu perguntado de que geito os sexos se colocam para fazer o coito, dizia-me que o homem e a mulher, para este fim, sempre se deitam de lado, a saber, um em frente do outro. Depois me perguntou como os brancos costumavam comportar-se a este respeito, e contei-lhe que, pelo que eu sabia destas cousas, entre nós o homem se deitaria em cima da mulher, mas ás vezes aconteceria o contrario. O inteligente indio ficou visivelmente revoltado. "Que desaforo contra aquele que está embaixo!" exclamou. Olhei-o admirado, e ele acrescentou uma explicação que até hoje não compreendi: "Os Bororo dizem que o homem e a mulher tem de deitar-se um ao lado do outro, porque um dia morrem e então estão reunidos".

Atilio, meu fiel companheiro de viagem, Bororo de Sangradouro, mais tarde afirmou as declarações de Tiago Aipobureu e acrescentou: "O pai diz ao filho e a mãe á filha o que a gente tem de fazer no coito". Quando ouve que posição nesse áto é ocupada pelos brancos, espanta-se primeiro e diz depois com branda indignação: "Mas que peso!"

De Naliki, velho chefe Tereno, recebi a respeito da sua tribu a seguinte declaração: "Quando vão casar-se, o futuro marido ouve do pai e a futura esposa ouve da mãi que a gente, no coito, deita-se de lado, a saber, um em frente do outro. 'Primeiramente deveis fazer assim, porque desde o começo da tribu foi feito assim; depois podeis fazer á vontade'." — Os Tereno tambem acreditam que os esposos, depois da morte, encontram-se de novo, ficando então juntos.

Quanto pude ficar sabendo, entre os Guayakí, no coito, tambem ambos os sexos deitam-se de lado, mas não um em frente do outro, e sim o homem atraz da mulher. A respeito disso explicaram que, dêsse modo, dependia da vontade da mulher, introduzir ou não o penis na vagina, mas que em todos os casos ficaria para ambos uma possibilidade de prazer. Tambem seria possivel desta maneira, ter prazer com moças ainda impuberes sem que estas ficassem prejudicadas.

Entre os Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá e Tapirapé, a mulher, no coito, deita-se de costas e o homem em cima dela.

Mas que esta posição, tambem em outros continentes, nem sempre é ou foi considerada como normal, fica demonstrado pelos seguintes exemplos: segundo um mito dos Yoruba na Africa, Obatalla, o deus do céo, e Odudua, a deusa da terra, tinham em comum sete aneis. "Quando de noite se ajuntaram, se enfeitaram com estes aneis, a saber, sempre o que estava deitado por cima, usava os primeiros quatro aneis, e o que estava deitado em baixo, usava os restantes tres aneis" (Leo Frobenius: *Vom Kulturreich des Festlandes*, Berlin, 1923, pag. 112). Segundo um conto antigo syrio-judaico, Adão e Eva disputaram no paraiso qual dos dois, na cópula, tinha de deitar-se por baixo e qual por cima (Frobenius, *ibídem*).

Até que ponto a posição socialmente inferior da mulher na nossa civilisação se manifesta tambem a respeito da vida sexual, demonstram as expressões: "possuir" ou "usar" ou "deshonrar" uma mulher. Nossa moral colectiva não tolera que a mulher use tambem tais expressões a respeito do homem. Ela não pode "possui-lo", mas deve "pertencer-lhe", ela não pode "usa-lo", mas deve "entregar-se", e nunca pode "deshonra-lo", porque deve seduzi-lo, de tal maneira que êle próprio se considere como sedutor.

Entre os nossos indios, em vão buscaremos uma mentalidade que estabeleça semelhantes diferenças violentas entre os sexos. Isto não fica contradito pelo que Koslowsky (*o. c.*, pag. 384) relata dos Bororo occidentais: "Cuando se preparan para la caza (da onça [H. B.]) empiezan por observar ciertas ceremonias, que consisten principalmente en no dormir con su mujer cuatro dias antes de salir á la caza del felino; en este intervalo comienza por pintarse la cara con urucú, prepara sus flechas al calor del fuego para endurecer las fibras de la tacuara. En ninguna circunstancia le es permitido á la mujer tocar la punta de las flechas, pues el indio cree que con su contacto pierden su fuerza de penetracion y que le atraerian desgracias." — Quando o homem evita as relações com a mulher, supondo que estas o debilitam fisicamente e tambem mentalmente para o exercício de certos oficios de seu sexo; e quando êle, então, graças a um raciocínio por analogia, é levado á suposição de que a mulher seria capaz, por meio de seu contato, de tirar a força das armas, não prova, com isso, que se sente superior ao outro sexo ou desdenha-o. Tais costumes encontram-se entre muitos povos de diferentes continentes.

Tiago Aipobureu em Meruri dizia-me: "Antigamente, os homens arrancavam às mandibulas da onça, mas hoje copulam tanto que não podem mais fazer isto. A cópula ataca muito o sangue, por isso o homem é mais forte quando copula raras vezes. Antigamente tinha relações sexuais só uma ou duas vezes por mez, hoje tem-n'as de uma a duas vezes por semana. E antigamente, a mulher, apezar das poucas relações, estava contente com o homem de medo de perde-lo".

Parece, porém, que em certa oposição a isso está a indicação do mesmo Tiago Aipobureu, segundo a qual antigamente os homens consumiam como afrodisiaco o breo do jatobá (*Hymenaea sp.*). "Hoje a gente come este breo só raras vezes; não é mais necessario porque agora a gente sempre está com vontade de copular". — Não será provocada esta mudança pela maneira de viver e alimentar-se dos Bororo que a nossa civilisação tanto alterou?

Dizem que a unica forma de carícia sexual conhecida pelos Bororo é fazer cocegas um no outro, especialmente nos sovacos e nas partes pudendas, cousa que aliás nunca se manifesta publicamente.

A homosexualidade e o onanismo são desconhecidos entre os Bororo, como entre a maior parte das tribus de indios visitadas por mim.

Na lenda do Ké-Marugodu (v. as paginas 175, 176 e 181 do presente livro), Adugoedu, o jaguar, recomenda á sua mulher que não ria e não brinque com os outros homens. Quando ela, apezar disso, é levada a rir por Ké-Marugodu, o lagarto, cai morta no mesmo instante. Referindo a separação dos sexos das "metades" exogamas já ficamos sabendo, "que é geralmente julgado máo e imoral qualquer olhar ou sorriso entre pessoas de sexo diferente e 'metade' diversa". Indubitavelmente, os ciumes são um dos motivos deste costume e da passagem citada da lenda do Ké-Marugodu.

Entre os Bororo, ambos os sexos mostram ciumes. Não raras vezes os ciumes das mulheres levam-nas a verdadeiros duelos.

Conhecemos o duelo das mulheres dos Chamacoco (Baldus: *Indianerstudien*, pag. 62). Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 454) descreve o dos Bororo da maneira seguinte: "Quando a contenda no interior da cabana atingia o ponto culminante, era concluida por uma especie de luta. Saíam correndo para a praça; Xantippe parecia ser a imparcial. Falando e gesticulando vivamente, ela colocou tres mulheres de um lado e Maria, sózinha em frente delas. Uma das tres adiantou-se com grande pulo, e Maria foi ao encontro dela. Agarraram-se pela cintura, e uma luta feroz começou. E dentro de poucos segundos formavam o centro de um grosso novelo de curiosos e combatentes, novelo que se revolveu no meio e conjuntamente de uma massa maior e mais solta ao longo das casas. Era um louco empurrar e apertar, os homens rindo, pulando, fóra de si de prazer, as mulheres uivando a mais não poder, enquanto as duas adversarias se seguravam firmemente abraçadas e agarradas pelos cabelos. Finalmente, foram separadas á força".

Entre os Bororo visitados por mim, as mulheres, para o duelo, atam pedaços oblongos da pele armada de espinhas do rabo da raia d'água doce, no lado interior nas articulações dianteiras dos dedos. Os homens fazem a mesma cousa, e tratam de arranhar com isto o adversario, batendo-o e abraçando-o. Além disso, os homens atam algumas peles inteiras do rabo da raia nas barrigas da perna e lançam então a perna por entre as partes superiores das coxas do inimigos. Tanto nas missões como em Tori-paru pude adquirir essas terriveis armas. Não sómente por meio delas, mas tambem com as unhas apontadas especialmente para esse fim, as mulheres arranham a cara e o corpo da antagonista. Fazendo isto, dão muitos gritos agudos, enquanto os homens pelejam silenciosamente; só, sendo a onça o adversário tratam de irrital-a por meio de gritaria.

As mulheres dos Bororo não brigam sómente por causa de ciumes, mas tambem quando os seus filhos fazem algum mal um ao outro ou quando elas mesmas se enfurecem por causa de qualquer mexerico. Depressa tornam-se amigas umas das outras, para poder contar historias escandalosas das outras amigas. Fazendo isto, procuram conhecer os segredos da nova amiga, mexericando depois sobre ela da mesma forma que sobre as outras. Tambem os homens são mestres na mentira e na calunia. E como se dá com todos os mexeriqueiros do mundo, tambem os Bororo, homem e mulher, são supersensiveis; e facilmente se irritam quando alguem acha o que dizer deles mesmos.

Ambos os sexos não guardam severamente a fidelidade conjugal. A respeito disto, o diretor da missão de Meruri contou-me: "Antigamente separavam-se quando o matrimonio não ia bem; hoje porém, sendo os matrimonios cristãos e, por isso, indissolúveis, o marido espanca a mulher". Como fiquei sabendo, ás vezes estas sovas vão até o homicidio. Diz-se que já antigamente tambem, se bem que de raro em raro, acontecia que o homem matava a mulher e que, por outro lado, tambem acontecia que os parentes da mulher o liquidavam com algum veneno vegetal.

Se os padres salesianos afirmam que a posição da mulher antigamente teria sido peior do que hoje, e que agora nas missões a Bororo estaria igualada ao homem, essa opinião corresponde á sua mentalidade europea, convencida da necessidade natural do predominio do homem, mentalidade que tem a mulher abandonada por mais digna de compaixão do que a espancada. Segundo o mesmo estado do espirito, o homem é "senhor em casa"; e os apostolos em Meruri e Sangradouro contam com satisfação que agora mudaram, no sentido cristão, os costumes dos Bororo, segundo os quais a mulher manda em casa.

Mas ha alguma cousa que não muda no sentido cristão e não se deixa oprimir para sempre por doutrinas boas ou más: é o carater inato do individuo, que consiste na força da vontade, na singularidade da sua sexualidade, em suma, na composição especial de todas as suas disposições naturais não adquiridas durante a vida, mas já nascidas com êle, composição pela qual unicamente o individuo é individuo e continua individuo, isto é, distingue-se de todos os outros individuos. Se bem que a posição social dos sexos dentro de um povo apresente, por assim dizer, vista de fóra, a forma ao matrimonio, se bem que pareça determinar ou, pelo menos, procure determinar a relação dos sexos, tambem no matrimonio, cada matrimonio recebe a sua propria e verdadeira configuração, ou, melhor dito, o seu conteudo, interiormente, pelos carateres dos individuos que por ele se unem. Naturalmente, os carateres pouco pronunciados são reprimidos pelas normas da sociedade tambem no matrimonio, pois este é uma formação que está no limite entre o ser social e individual. Quantos homens há entre nós que gostariam de ser dominados pela mulher, e representam o papel do inexoravel senhor e dono, em vez de produzir a força necessaria para vencer com a sua individualidade a influencia das convenções criadas pelo predominio do sexo masculino!

As diferenças do carater dos individuos não são menores numa aldeia de indios do que numa de nossas aldeias; e tambem lá os carateres muito pronunciados abrem o caminho, no matrimonio, atravez das regras sociais. Entre os Guató que Couto de Magalhães (*O selvagem*, 3.ª edição, São Paulo, 1935, pag. 148) chama "um tipo exagerado dos direitos do homem sobre a mulher", Julio Koslowsky ("Tres semanas entre los indios Guatós", Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895, pag. 232) encontrou um homem do qual, depois de ter elogiado a sua extraordinaria inteligencia, menciona: "Lo único que tuve que desaprobar fué la completa sumisión que demonstraba hácia su mujer".

Tais exemplos encontram-se em cada tribu de indios. Entre os Tapirapé vi homens que mandavam e maltratavam a mulher, e outros que fugiam da cabana com suas plumas quando a esposa enfurecida ameaçava atirar esses enfeites ao fogo. Entre os Karajá ha homens que, no momento de raiva, espancam a mulher terrivelmente e que, apezar disto, em todos os assuntos importantes se lhe submetem incondicionalmente. Karl von den Steinen diz, se bem que generalizando, dos indios da região do Xingú (*o. c.*, pag. 332): "O homem deixou a mulher levar mais carga do que êle, mandou-a ficar afastada da casa das frautas na qual os homens se aconselhavam, fumavam, realizavam festas, e onde os homens foram hospedados, êle foi senhor e dono dela — e fez o que ela queria".

Um dia, um velho irmão leigo em Sangradouro, que tinha passado toda a vida com os Bororo, me explicou, de u'a maneira ingenua a conduta dessa tribu em tais conjunturas: "Geralmente é o homem que manda; mas quando um dêles é muito bom para a mulher, é esta que manda".

Querendo averiguar a importancia do adôrno na situação dos sexos, temos de perguntar primeiramente, quando serve êle para apregoar o individuo adornado ao outro ou ao proprio sexo, e quando para mostrá-lo superior ao outro ou ao proprio sexo. Mas antes de tentar obter resposta a tais perguntas, é necessario distinguir o adôrno condicionado pela sociedade do adôrno originario do individuo.

Entre os Bororo podemos designar como "adôrno social" o enfeitar com os adôrnos próprios das diferentes clans e com o adôrno de plumas relacionado a fins religioso-coletivos. A grande coroa de plumas de arara, chamada *pariko*, o adôrno do peito que consiste em unhas do tatú canastra, e todas as várias especies de pendentes do labio competem ao sexo masculino. Os lobulos das orelhas, porém, são perfurados em ambos os sexos, com o fim de adorna-los, a saber, como Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 474) menciona, entre os rapazes pelo pai, logo que eles tem oito a dez anos e começam a provar seriamente a habilidade de caçador, e entre as meninas (K. von den Steinen, *o. c.*, pag. 501), como já vimos, como especie de sinal de uma promessa em casamento, pelo futuro marido (4).

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(4) Representemos, aqui, os brincos de metal. Colbacchini (*I Bororos Orientali*, p. 100) representa um homem com êsse brinco na orelha. Os Bororo me asseguraram que certos clans usavam e usam êsse adôrno de orelha feito de conchas, mas

Podemos considerar por "adornar individual" entre os Bororo o uso das cordas transversais do peito e das estreitas fitas tecidas dos braços. Ambos os sexos, adul-

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outros fabricavam o seu de um metal que a tribu possuia antigamente. Dizem que êste metal era o ouro, noticia não muito dificil de aceitar porque os Bororo ocupavam regiões nas quais hoje ainda o ouro aparece freqüentemente. Atualmente, os brincos aqui reproduzidos em tamanho natural são fabricados do metal de cartuchos. Chamam-se *meriri-kiga-réu* e são firmados por meio de um fio d'arame anular no buraco furado em ambos os lobulos das orelhas, de maneira que o individuo usa um par dêsses brincos. O representado na figura 1, que tem um dente em cima e um em baixo, é proprio do clan dos Aroia; é usado por Mario Bokodori Kudde, figurado na estampa 21, ainda que este homem não pertença ao dito clan. Mas tinha matado uma onça e dado

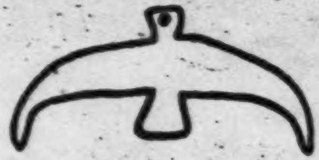

FIG. 1

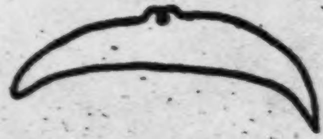

FIG. 2

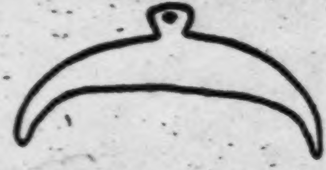

FIG. 3

tos e crianças, costumam usa-las ocasionalmente para, segundo me foi assegurado, defender-se das doenças.

Parece que o adorno de peito feito de dentes de animais serve para o mesmo fim. Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 479) escreveu a respeito deste adorno: "Só rarissimas vezes acontece que tambem mulheres recebam estes adornos o que, provavelmente, resulta da mudança pela colonização, porque se conta que, nos outros Bororo, é comum só os homens adornarem-se". — Vi esse enfeite tanto nas mulheres e crianças como nos homens.

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o cadaver aos Aroia, livrando, com isto, do encarnar-se nessa fera um recem-defunto dêsse clan. Recebeu então, como é costume em tal caso, presentes de honra dos Aroia, especialmente o arco pomposamente adornado de plumas, e a licença para fabricar e usar «sem medo e vergonha» todos os adornos com que o clan deles se distingue dos outros. Pode-se adquirir esta licença de qualquer clan desde que se lhe entregue uma onça morta, livrando, desse modo, um dos seus defuntos da encarnação nesse felino. Desejo observar ainda que a mulher de Mario Bokodori Kudde (estampas 19 e 20) era uma Aroia e, por isso, possuia brincos iguais aos que o marido usava. O mesmo homem me disse que, antigamente, esses brincos eram usados de modo inverso, quer dizer, com as pontas para cima.

O brinco sem dente, representado na figura 2, pertence ao clan dos Paí-we; o com um dente, na figura 3, é do clan dos Dyakome(r)koadda.

E' provavel que a forma destes brincos tenha sido tomada do adorno de peito feito das unhas do tatú canastra (*Priodontes giganteus*), chamado *bokodori inoge* (*bokodori*: tatú canastra; *inoge*: unha), e representado varias vezes por Colbacchini (*I Bororos Orientali*, p. 50) e por Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*).

Vi em Sangradouro um Bororo fabricar tambem um adorno de peito na forma e com o tamanho do *bokodori inoge*, mas de folha de lata.

Não pude averiguar se essa forma tem qualquer relação com a lua.

Tambem, nem entre os Bororo nem entre outras tribus de indios é "comum" que sómente os homens se adornem. Justamente Karl von den Steinen refere (*o. c.*, pags. 476 e 502) que as moças na casa dos homens são pintadas e adornadas com o maior cuidado. E Colbacchini (*o. c.*, pag. 15) diz: "Homens e mulheres enfeitam a cabeça com plumas e pennas". — E' verdade que estes casos são exemplos do "adôrno individual" e não do "adôrno social". Entre a maior parte das tribus de indios encontramos um par de namorados que se adornam reciprocamente, em especial por meio de pintura; nota-se tambem que os pais adornam os filhos de ambos os sexos. Entre os Tapirapé, a igualação no "adôrno individual" vai ao ponto de homem e mulher, em muitos casais, trazerem, alternadamente, os mesmos colares de contas no pescoço.

Mas o adôrno da india não é, sempre e por toda parte, limitado ao "adôrno individual". Em muitas tribus, a moça, no fim da primeira menstruação, é adornada solenemente. Entre os Tapirapé, as mulheres renovam depois da menstruação a pintura do corpo, tipica do sexo feminino. Entre os Bororo, as mulheres usam brincos que valem por distintivos de clan. Tudo isto é "adôrno social".

Considerando o adôrno dos Bororo em conjunto, verificamos que a maior parte do "adôrno social" compete ao homem, enquanto que ambos os sexos se dedicam, em proporções iguais, ao "adôrno individual". Parece, porém, que a pergunta a respeito de quando o adôrno desses indios serve para apregoar o individuo adornado, ao outro, ou ao proprio sexo, ou mostra-lo superior ao outro ou ao proprio sexo, só pode ser respondida em face deste ou daquele caso particular. Assim, essa resposta só tem valor individual-psicológico e não valor geral, quanto á significação do adôrno para a posição dos sexos.

Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 497) escreve que entre os indios "é próprio da mulher chorar e 'tremer' sempre, quando animais, inimigos ou apenas saltos de agua ameaçam, e necessitar sempre de proteção".

Verifiquei em minhas experiencias que isto é verdade, em geral; e quando se observa que a mulher, na raiva e no medo, dá gritos agudos ou gemidos, enquanto que o homem quasi sempre se esforça por conservar, em qualquer caso, mais dignidade tranquila, inclinamo-nos a ver nesse comportamento uma superioridade do homem. E mesmo sendo a causa do comportamento da mulher apenas a sua intenção de "vencer por meio de fraqueza" nas relações dos sexos, isso nos parece um indicio da inferioridade social.

Na maior parte das tribus indígenas os homens querem até que as mulheres mostrem medo, e certas dansas são realizadas para este fim. Segundo Wilhelm Koppers (*Unter Feuerlandindianern*, Stuttgart, 1924) os indios na Terra do Fogo contam que, em tempos antigos, eram completamente dominados pelas mulheres, porque estas tinham-se reunido em ligas secretas e realizavam ritos graças aos quais mantinham os homens em medo permanente. Mas um dia os homens descobriram esse embuste e fizeram então o mesmo com as mulheres; e desde aquele tempo estas são atemorizadas por meio de praticas de feitiçaria e dansas. Nas dansas dos *ãnãpẽsẽ* dos Chamacoco no Chaco (Baldus, *Indianerstudien*, pag. 94), os homens, por meio dos seus tregeitos misteriosos e amedrontadores o que querem é protestar contra o poder das mulheres.

Von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 494) diz, da dansa do couro da onça dos Bororo, a qual foi observada recentemente ainda entre os chamados Bororo da Campanha que pertencem aos Bororo occidentais, por Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, N. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pags. 120 e segts.): "O medo das mulheres era a *pointe* da dansa".

Se parece que a causa de que os homens tratem de intimidar as mulheres por meio de certos misterios, é, muitas vezes, a intenção de se sustentar contra o sexo feminino, intenção que não prova de modo algum que os homens estejam perfeitamente convencidos da sua propria superioridade, por outro lado, porém, tambem um sentimento que os inquieta, não por causa de si mesmos, mas por causa das mulheres, pode leva-los a tais praticas. Este ultimo motivo dá-se, por exemplo, segundo Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 498) nas festas funerais dos Bororo. Escreve êle a este respeito (o. c., pag.

497): "A ideia fundamental de todas estas solenidades é o medo de que o morto voltasse para levar os vivos. Exclue-se timidamente o sexo fraco das cerimonias que são realizadas com o fim de defender-se desta possibilidade. As mulheres vão ao mato ou escondem-se nas casas. O signal para elas é dado por certo instrumento sonoro (especie de "berra-boi", em alemão *Schwirrholz*) cujo som particular tem sentido acautelante ou atemorizador. Se elas estivessem presentes, expôr-se-iam a morrer. Até aqui tudo é logico e natural. Mas, ha mais: deste costume formou-se a crença de que apenas a vista desse instrumento já constitue perigo para as mulheres: morreriam se o vissem".

Como Tiago Aipobureu me contou, hoje ainda existe o costume das mulheres prepararem, para as festas funerárias, a comida que é levada pelos rapazes á casa dos homens, completamente fechada, e lá consumida pelos presentes. Segundo a tradição da tribu, tambem o morto participa desse banquete. Mas o sincero Tiago Aipobureu ajuntou: "As mulheres sabem, porém, o que lá acontece em realidade, se bem que finjam não saber. Sempre ha homens que lhes contam tudo".

Ambos os sexos dos Bororo tomam parte da maioria dos cantos e dansas; é verdade, porém, que nessas ocasiões o sexo feminino sempre tem papel secundario. Segundo Karl von den Steinen (*o. c.*, pag. 491), homens e mulheres embriagam-se indistintamente com o vinho tirado do acurí.

A posição dos sexos evidencia-se tambem por ocasião da morte. Como entre quasi todas as tribus do oriente da América do Sul, tambem entre os Bororo os parentes mais chegados do defunto ou da defunta, especialmente o viuvo ou a viuva, cortam o cabelo.

As seguintes passagens do relatorio de Karl von den Steinen são carateristicas do comportamento de um viuvo (*o. c.*, pag. 505): "Coqueiro, na sua cabana, deu córtes nos braços e pernas, que se cobriram com crostas de sangue coalhado; e de tarde realizou-se a solemne destruição dos bens da defunta, melhor dito, dos bens de sua familia, que tinha morado na mesma cabana que ela". — Depois disso (*o. c.*, pag. 508): "Coqueiro chegou com uma criança na mão. Sentou-se silenciosamente ao lado, soluçou e chorou. Não tinha adôrno algum além da corda preta ao redor do corpo, que ele tinha fiado e entrelaçado do cabelo da sua mulher. Suas faces estavam molhadas de lagrimas; comprimiu os olhos como se o chôro fosse doloroso". — E por fim (*o. c.*, pag. 510): "Coqueiro ficou sem nada. Os amigos fabricaram arco e flechas presenteando-o com eles".

Si bem que possamos afirmar que por este comportamento se manifesta o medo do fenomeno enigmatico da morte, parece que o viuvo Coqueiro mostrou uma verdadeira dôr de marido amoroso e com isto provou como estimava a mulher.

Quando falei da vida sexual já referi que, segundo a crença dos Bororo, os casais reunem-se de novo depois da morte. E' preciso acrescentar que eles, então, só se reunem depois de ter-se tornado araras ou outros animais, correspondentes á crença na transmigração das almas entre esses indios. Se um homem tinha duas mulheres, reune-se com ambas depois da morte. Si foi casado varias vezes, reune-se, depois da morte, com a mulher ou com as mulheres do seu ultimo consorcio. A viuva que casa outra vez, reune-se, depois da morte, com o ultimo marido. Aparentemente, a reunião depois da morte realiza-se, por conseguinte, sempre segundo o desejo do cônjuge sobrevivente. O filho reune-se aos pais, contando-lhes tudo o que aconteceu desde a morte deles.

Sobre a vida da viuva, Colbacchini (*o. c.*, pag. 58) escreve: "As viuvas são verdadeiramente livres e gosam da mesma posição de antes. A viuvez não impõe honras nem deveres. Podem casar-se novamente; não ha tambem da parte das mulheres aversão a se casarem com viuvos. Morto o marido, fica a viuva em companhia dos parentes dela".

Os Bororo das missões me asseguraram que entre eles não existem nem jamais existiram *bari* femininas (medicas-feiticeiras) e sim velhas curandeiras. Disseram-me que aquele que sabia cantar melhor, com a voz mais alta e por mais tempo, e que tambem possuia outras aptidões, era eleito para *bari*. Mas os habitantes da aldeia Tori-paru me disseram que o *bari* não era eleito, mas que o demonio *bope* entra em qualquer um dos seus, e este, então, fica *bari*. Ninguem sabe, com antecedência, quem se torna *bari*. Duas pessoas podem tornar-se *bari* ao mesmo tempo e dessa maneira, e tanto homens como mulheres.

Medicas-feiticeiras são rarissimas entre os povos primitivos da América do Sul. Os Tapirapé tinham um *pantché* feminino e mataram-no como suposto causador de desgraças.

Em outro lugar (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme", Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XXIX, Leipzig, 1932; tradução franceza pelo Dr. A. Métraux na Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), tentei demonstrar como as organizações sociais entre tribus de indios sulamericanos se refletem em sua mitologia. Entre os Bororo encontramos dois "mitos de origem" (*Ursprungsmythen*), cujos elementos são muito espalhados neste continente. Uma moça da tribu casa-se com o jaguar. Ela morre, e do seu corpo tiram-se gemeos que se mostram, mais tarde, como os herois civilizadores e os antepassados da tribu. Neste mito, por conseguinte, aparece a figura de uma "mãe primaria" (*Urmutter*; Baldus, *o. c.*) como a encontramos, na maior parte dos casos, entre povos de organização matrilocal e muitas vezes, tambem, matrilinear. E' verdade que ela existe hoje, ás vezes, de par com a organização patrilocal e patrilinear; mas, a respeito disso, temos de considerar primeiramente que muitos mitos fazem grandes migrações e são, muitas vezes, com a maior facilidade, incorporados á mitologia de uma tribu; e, em segundo lugar, que as formas sociais não são fixas, mas mudam, freqüentemente, mais depressa do que a mitologia que as reflete.

Num outro mito dos Bororo, o homem sobrevivente depois da grande enchente que destruiu tudo, povoava novamente a terra por meio de casamento com uma veada. Por isso, hoje em geral se evita comer a carne de veado. Os Bororo crêm que adoeceriam se a comessem. Só em raríssimos casos, a magía de um *bari* especialmente poderoso é capaz de tornar comestivel essa carne.

Os Bororo me contaram: "Havia um homem que mandou os homens, e uma mulher que mandou as mulheres". O homem era Baitogogo, o primeiro e maior chefe e que tem na mitologia papel importante como civilisador. Esta repartição mitica do mando entre um homem e uma mulher prova uma completa igualação social dos sexos.

Em resumo, pode-se dizer, sobre a posição social da mulher entre os Bororo orientais: é verdade que o sexo feminino é considerado muito diferente do masculino, mas em geral não é considerado nem inferior nem superior a ele.

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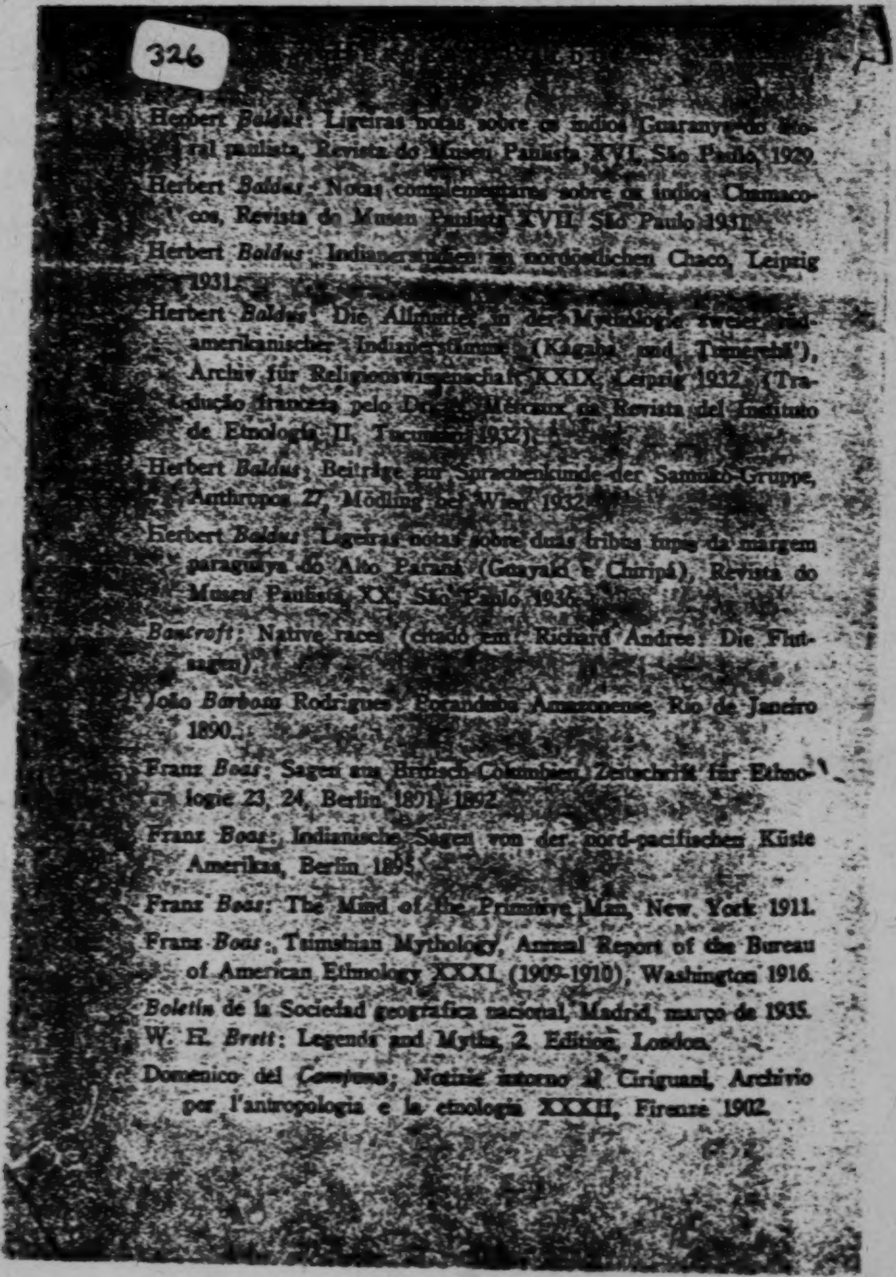

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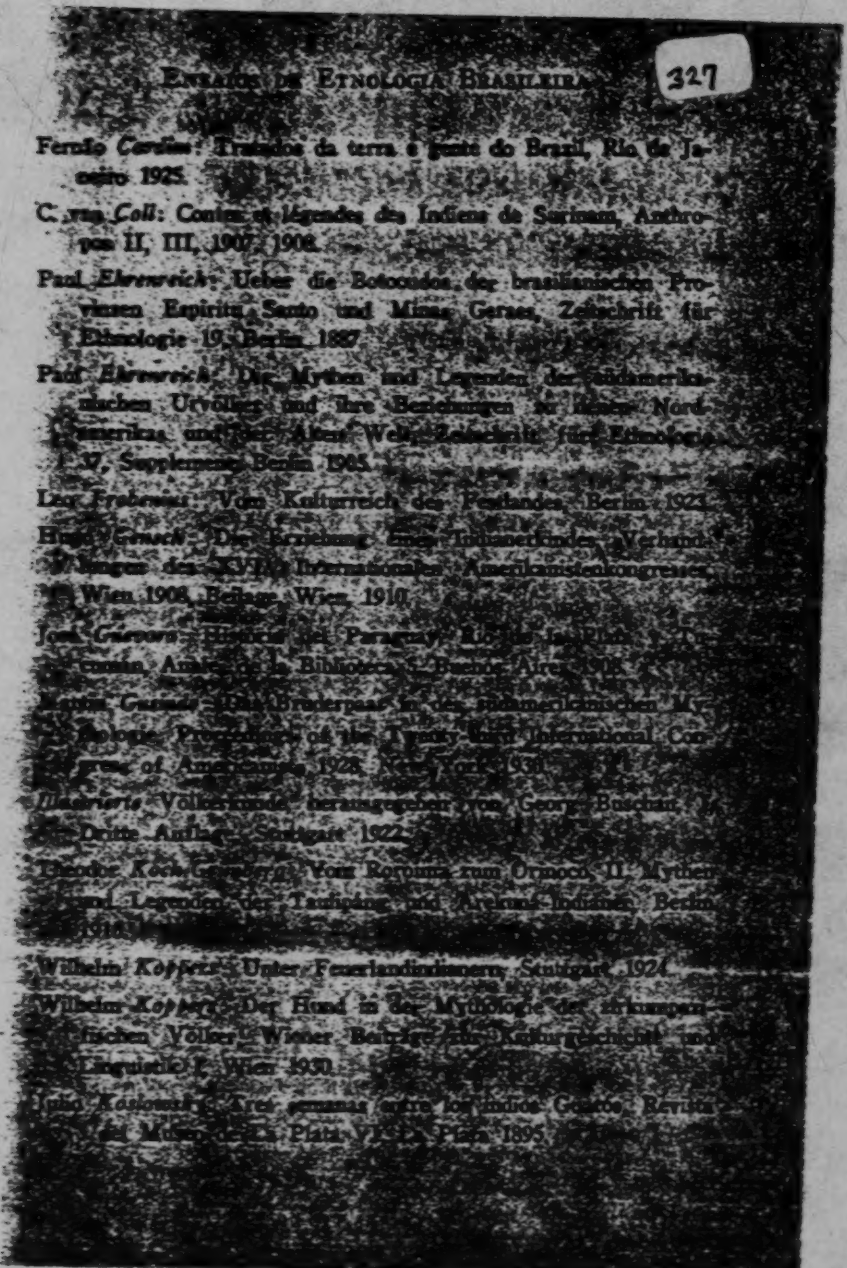

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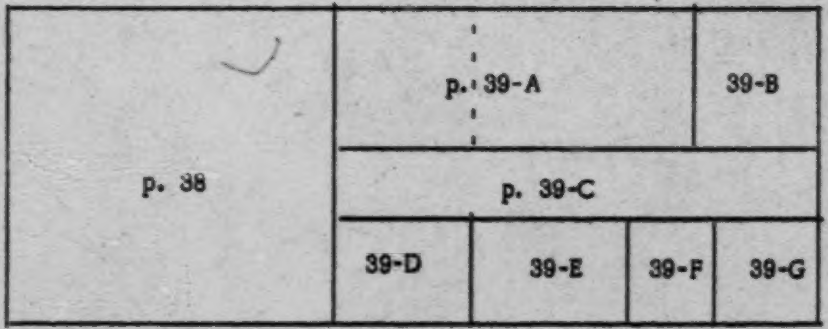
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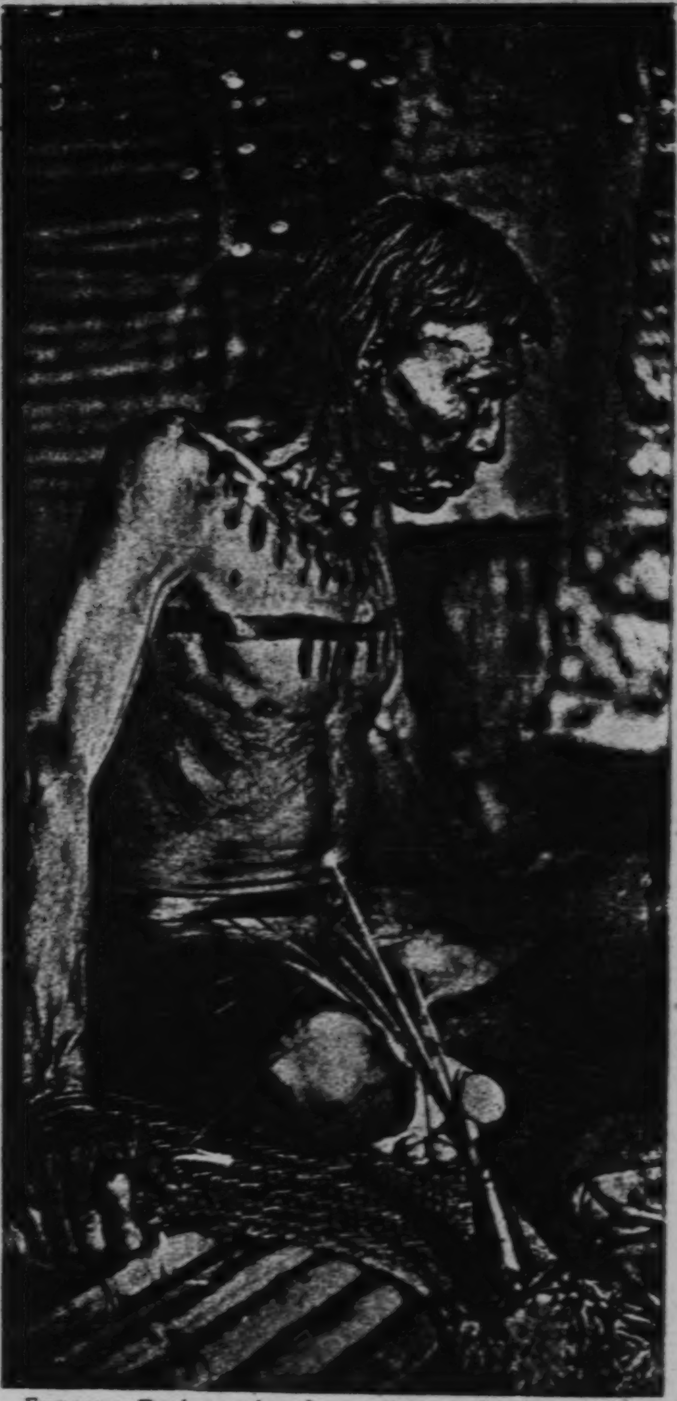

Funerary Design painted on a Bororo chief symbolizes the giant armadillo.

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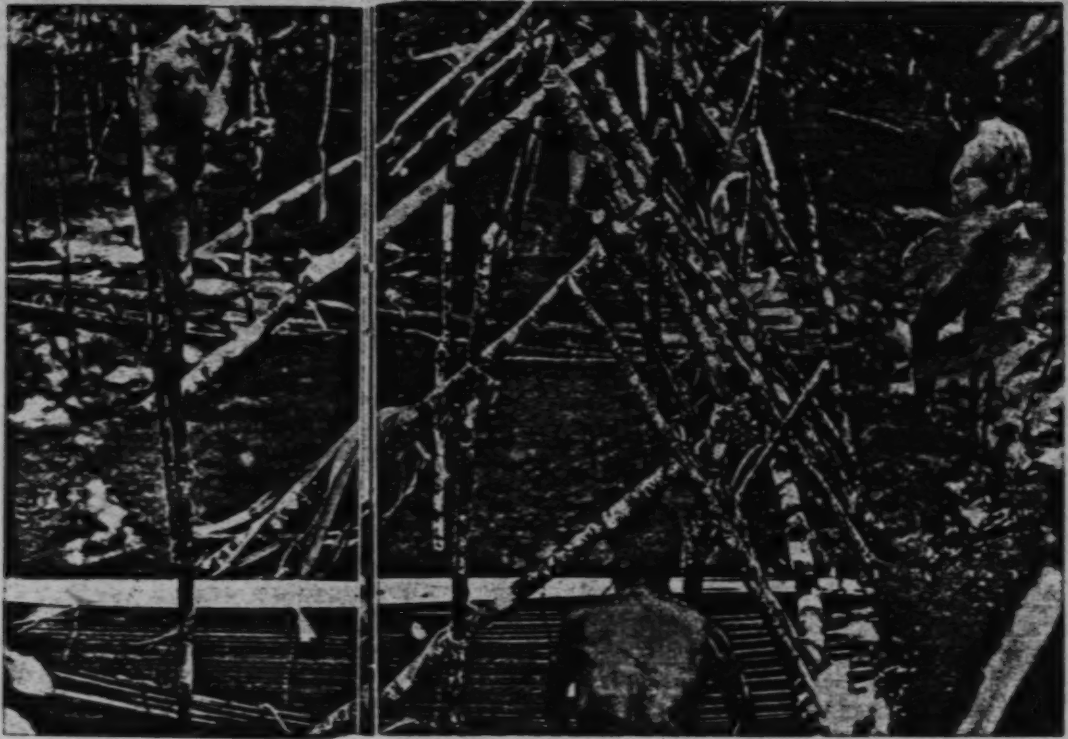

WEIR IS BUILT across a stream near the village after a death. Fence is used to trap many fish needed to feed village people during the long funeral rituals.

[p. 39-A]

Drugged fish try to escape weir and are netted when they enter its chutes.

Ritual of a Bororo Funeral

A simple interment ends full month of highly elaborate ceremony and preparation

By Vladimír Kozák

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DEATH CAUSES GREAT CONCERN 761
among peoples of all levels of
culture. Among primitive peoples,
anxiety about death is especially keen
because of the widespread belief that
the spirit of the dead person may be [775]
displeased and may remain in the community
to haunt and disturb the survivors.
Consequently, it is extremely 764
important to the survivors to dispose
of the remains of a dead person in the
prescribed manner and to demonstrate
their concern for the deceased through
the proper rituals. For this reason, the

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

ritual practices accompanying death 764
are often among the most elaborate
and impressive ceremonies to be found
in the primitive world. No more spec-
tacular funerary ceremony is known
to ethnology than that of the Bororo
Indians of Brazil.

The Bororo now living on the São 131
Lourenço River in the state of Mato 101
Grosso call themselves *Orarimogo-*
dogue—Fish People. Their settlement 361
consists of a number of large thatched
houses arranged in a circle around an
open dance plaza. Each hut is occupied 592
by a group of closely related women,
together with their husbands and children.

[p.39-E]

dren. One special house, larger than 345
the others, is built in the center of
the plaza. There the unmarried men [513]
sleep, and married men work and per- [796]
form many of their ceremonies, taking
advantage of the seclusion it provides
from the women and children. All per- 616
sons in the Bororo village are divided
into two groups, or moieties, mem-
bership in which is hereditary. The
moieties co-operate in work and com- [476]
pete with each other in recreation.

177
The Bororo were once among the 648
fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred [181]
against whites and other Indians alike.
Today the few villages that remain

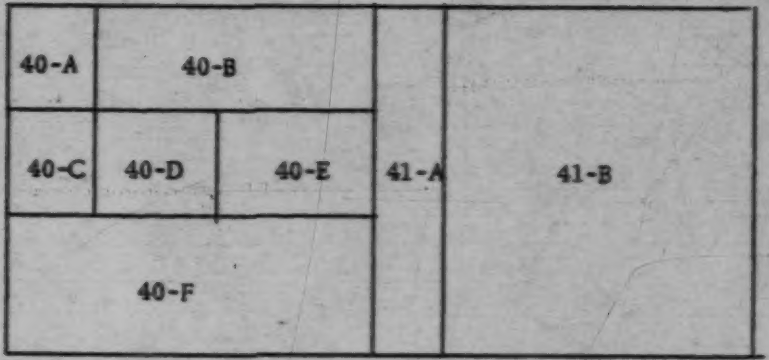
are pacified and are being affected to 648
an increasing extent by contact with 177
Western civilization. But in much of
their ceremonialism these people still [181]
retain their native customs.

When a death occurs among the Bororo, 764
all the members of the society
put aside the activities of their normal
routine for several weeks and together
perform some thirty separate rituals
that constitute their elaborate and protracted
funerary ceremony.

A few years ago, the author, with 114
the co-operation of the Brazilian Indian
Service, had an opportunity to
visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga

[p. 39-G]

[text continues on p. 40-C]


40-A
40-B
40-C
40-D
40-E
40-F
41-A
41-B

[Layout of pp. 40-41]

142
302
251

LARGE CATCH is smoked and dried on split-ended sticks set up close to fire.

[p.40-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

Shaman, into whose care all of the caught fish are first given for ritual treatment, here places a large fish on palm leaf and cuts it in small pieces.

756
764
252
226

[p. 40-B]

on the São Lourenço River, and to photograph the events that followed a death that had just occurred there. This story gives only the highlights of these events—a complete report would require an entire monograph. 114

When a Bororo is gravely ill, without hope of recovery, his friends and relatives decorate him with feather ornaments and anoint his body with urucú, a brilliant red paint made from 763 [301] [302] [386]

[p. 40-C]

the oily seeds of a shrub. As death nears, the assemblage begins to chant softly. Then, one by one they approach the dying person and pay him their last respects by briefly placing a hand on his forehead. 763 [386] [533]

As soon as breathing has stopped, the body is quickly covered with a sleeping mat, for the corpse must not be seen again by the women or chil- 764

[p.40-D] -

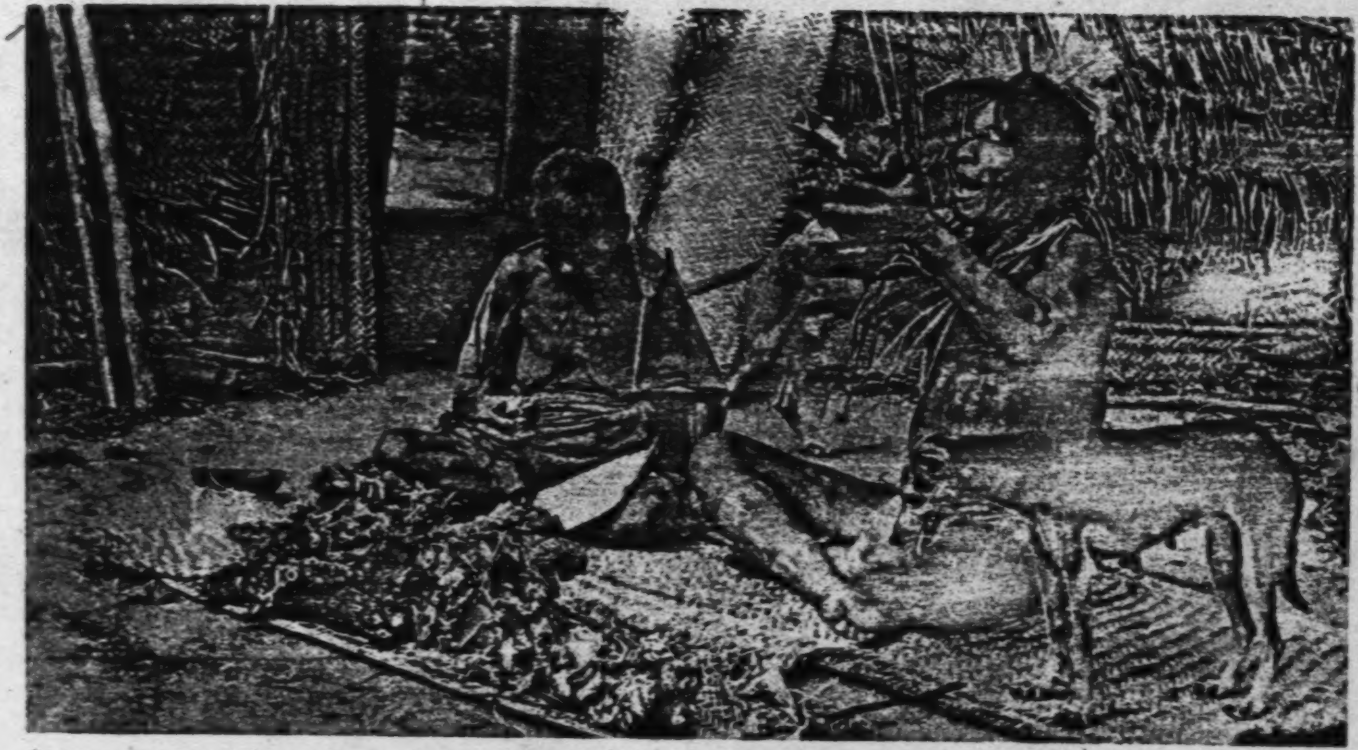
dren. The mourners, especially the women, wail loudly and further express their grief by cutting themselves so deeply with sharpened mussel shells that their blood runs onto the mat that covers the corpse.

At sundown the body is wrapped in the sleeping mat. If the deceased is a man, his bow and arrows are wrapped with him, and the bundle is taken out to the plaza. All the villagers gather

[p. 40-E]

[text continues on p. 41-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8



AFTER BITING FISH, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotising himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

[p. 40-F]

756
142
291
231
778
262
285

[474]
[987]

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University 114
of Paraná, has visited many of the 128
Brazilian Indian tribes. This report
was prepared in collaboration with
Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant
Curator of South American Ethnology
at The American Museum, and Dr.
Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in
Anthropology, New York University.

All the villagers gather
round the corpse and sing funeral 764
songs throughout the night to the accompaniment
of the monotonous and [534]
rhythmical sound of gourd rattles.

The next morning, while a few
young men are busy digging a temporary
grave near the men's house,
the kin of the deceased gash themselves [152]
as before, leaning over the covered [304]
corpse so that the blood will flow
onto it. Laceration of the arms, head,
breasts, and legs is repeated many
times during the subsequent weeks of 765
funerary rituals. As another gesture
of mourning, the nearest kin tear out [602]
some of their hair, while more remote
relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth,
the mourners' hair is left uncut
until the mourning period of a year
or longer is over.

When the temporary grave has been 764
dug in the plaza, the body is interred
so that it lies less than a foot below
the surface of the ground. At frequent
intervals, quantities of water are
poured on it to hasten decomposition.

To sustain themselves during the 765
ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, 226
the Bororo lay in large stores of
food. During the early stages of the [262]
funerary ceremony the men catch
great quantities of fish. A lake near
the village supplies them with *jaú*, a
huge member of the catfish family, [136]
which sometimes attains a weight of
150 pounds and which the Bororo
shoot with bows and arrows.

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by
drugging them with timbo, a vegetable [278]
poison obtained by crushing certain
vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but
does not affect the quality of the flesh
for human consumption. (The active
ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now
widely used in this country as an insecticide.)
For this operation the men
build a weir across a stream. The fish
try to escape the poisoned water
through a chute in the weir. As they
pass through, they are caught in large
nets, then dried and smoked over a low [251]
fire, furnishing several days' food for
the entire community.

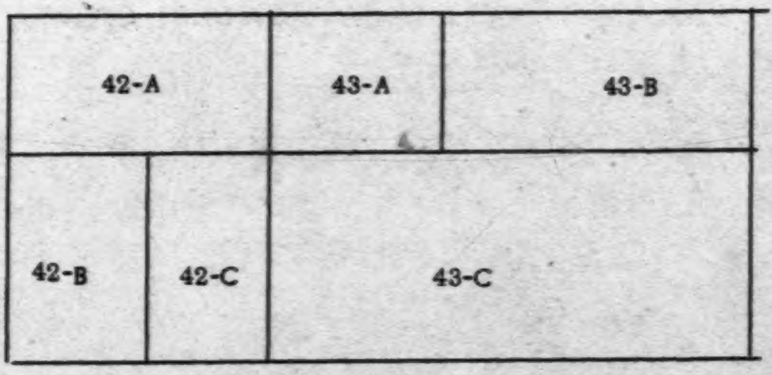
[p. 41-A]

222
273

WOMAN scrapes well in an acuri palm, above, after top has been chopped off. Sap seeps upward, and while it collects a leaf covers the cavity. When well is full, below, a woman draws off the sap by using a long reed tube as a pipette.

[142]
[302]
[415]

[p.41-B]


42-A
43-A
43-B
42-B
42-C
43-C

[Layout of pp. 42-43]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

411
302
768
516
285
1442

ORNATE BOW, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

[p. 42-A]

None of the fish may be eaten, however, 765
until ritually treated by the 756
shaman, or medicine man. First, he 787
induces a seizure of trembling, during 262
which he is thought to be possessed by
Bope, a powerful—and sometimes evil [776]
—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to
help them locate game and fish. Shaking
with the power of his spirit helper,
the shaman bites into each piece of
fish, thus driving out evil spirits and [778]
symbolically consecrating the fish to
Bope in return for his help in catching
it. When this act is completed, the shaman
passes the fish to his wife, who
also bites it. Only then can other members
of the society partake of it.

THE Bororo believe that deaths are 776
also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, 761
in their minds, with the jaguar, 825
and when a death occurs, the Bororo
take revenge for their loss by killing
a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with
ritual. A few days after a death, the 224
shaman determines where a jaguar can 765
be found by consulting the corpse in
its grave. After the corpse has communicated
the location of a jaguar, the [787]
shaman tells the relatives of the deceased,
who then request an outstanding
hunter of the opposite moiety to [616]
undertake the task of finding and killing
the jaguar. To help him in the
venture, the bereaved family gives the [411]
hunter two presents. The first is a [534]
gourd whistle, the sound of which represents [431]
the voice of the dead man's
soul. The second is a braided cord,

224
765

[411]
[431]

made from the mourners' hair, which the hunter wraps around his left wrist to prevent it from being injured by the snap of the bowstring.

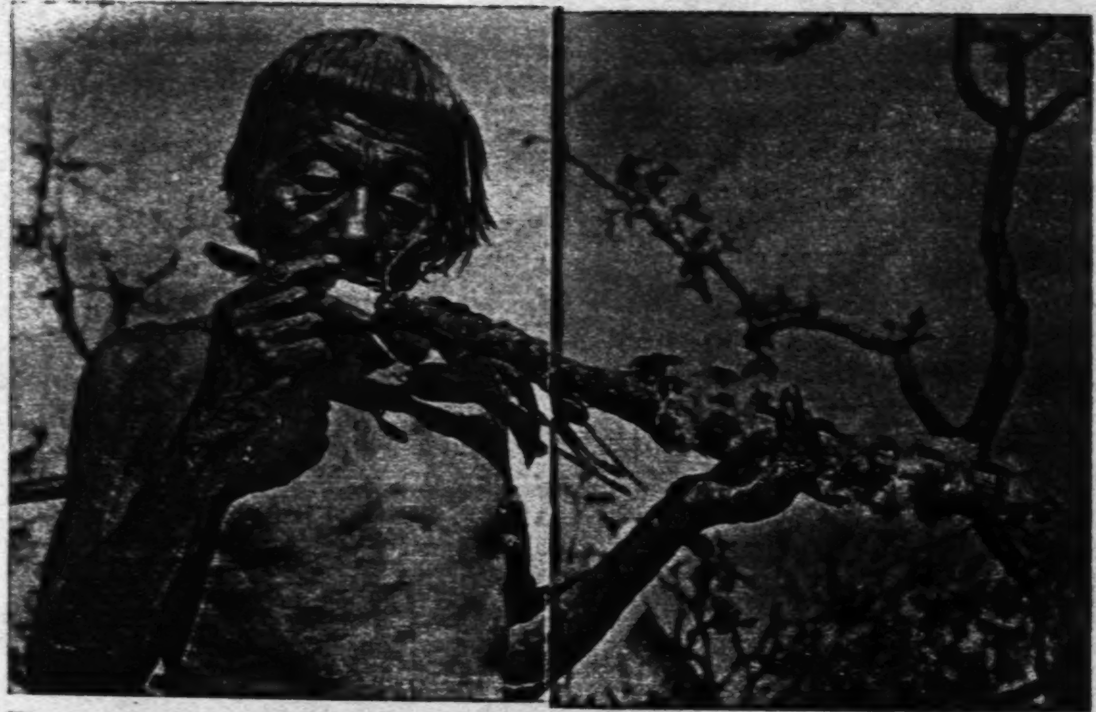
Even though the shaman has "learned" the location of a jaguar from the spirit of the deceased, several days may pass before the hunter succeeds in finding one. The ensuing struggle between hunter and hunted is a feat of great daring and skill. As soon as a jaguar comes within shooting range, the hunter releases an arrow. He then immediately lifts his bow into a horizontal position and extends it toward the jaguar, pointing the far tip directly at the beast to parry its attack (a single arrow is seldom lethal). This maneuver must be accomplished with great speed before the jaguar pounces. Enraged by pain, the jaguar leaps at the end of the bow, clawing and biting it. Eye to eye the two struggle, the hunter warding off the beast with his bow held rigidly in both hands. When the jaguar recoils to pounce, the hunter quickly looses a second arrow and again raises the bow to protect himself. When the jaguar finally falls to the ground, weakened by the wounds, a last arrow is shot to end the struggle. If the hunter does not deliver this coup de grâce, he may lose the contest, for the jaguar may still have enough strength to attack when the hunter least expects it.

With the help of a companion, the hunter carries the dead jaguar

[p. 42-C]

[text continues on p. 44-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8



Wooden flutes, ornamented with bird down and feathers, figure prominently in the ceremonies, as do whistles, and rattles and trumpets made from gourds.

[p.43-A]

534
142
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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

Black designs are painted on inside of jaguar skin, *above*, i which is worn by shaman, *below*, in ritual dance to appease spirit of the ceremonial kill.

i[AEE p 43-C]

[p:43-B]

516
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765

765
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411
756
782
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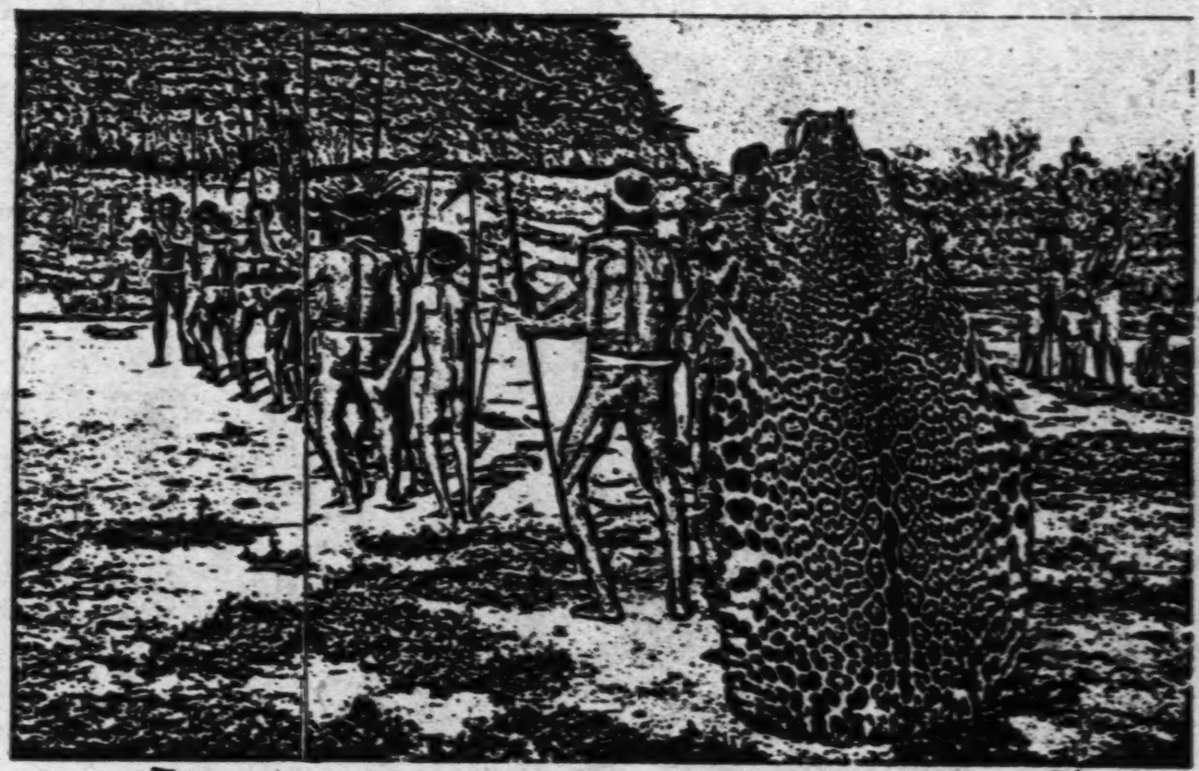
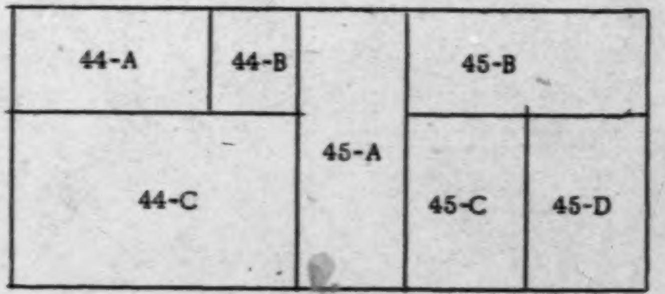
61 Kodak C-3 (ca. 1954) 1963 SPS Bororo SPS



[Ritual dance to appease spirit of the ceremonial kill.-Analyst]

[p.43-C] ; [For caption, see p. 43-B]


44-A
44-B
45-A
45-B
44-C
45-C
45-D

[Layout of pp. 44-45]

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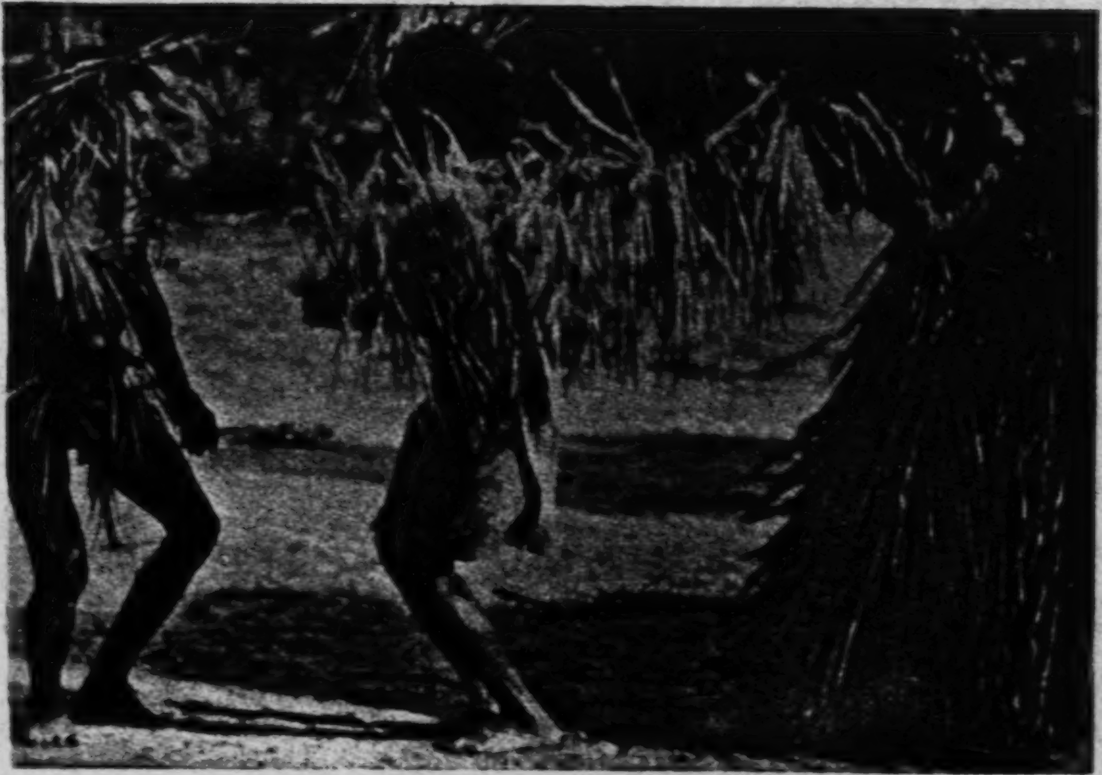
785



MEDICINE MAN, at the left, holds rattle as he leads strenuous dance. Men and women jump, then kneel, to raise and lower palm fronds held between them.

[p.44-A]

6;Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPB Bororo SPB

back to the village. Its claws and teeth 224
are pried loose and made into ornaments 765
to be kept as mementos by the [237]
close kin of the deceased. The hunter
is rewarded with a necklace made of [301]
shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated [411]
bow, and arrows. The animal is
skinned and the inner surface of the
pelt is decorated with black paint [531]
specially prepared by the shaman. This [756]
is presented to the relatives of the deceased
in a series of rituals that involve
singing and dancing. 765
The night of the kill, one of the 535
village leaders conducts a dance to the 825
accompaniment of songs addressed to 782
the spirit of the jaguar. With the
jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief
or a shaman leads the ritual intended
to appease the dead jaguar, while the
people of the village dance. Men, women,
and children all perform this
very important ritual, which continues
far into the night. At first many people

[Text continues on p. 45-A]

6: Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

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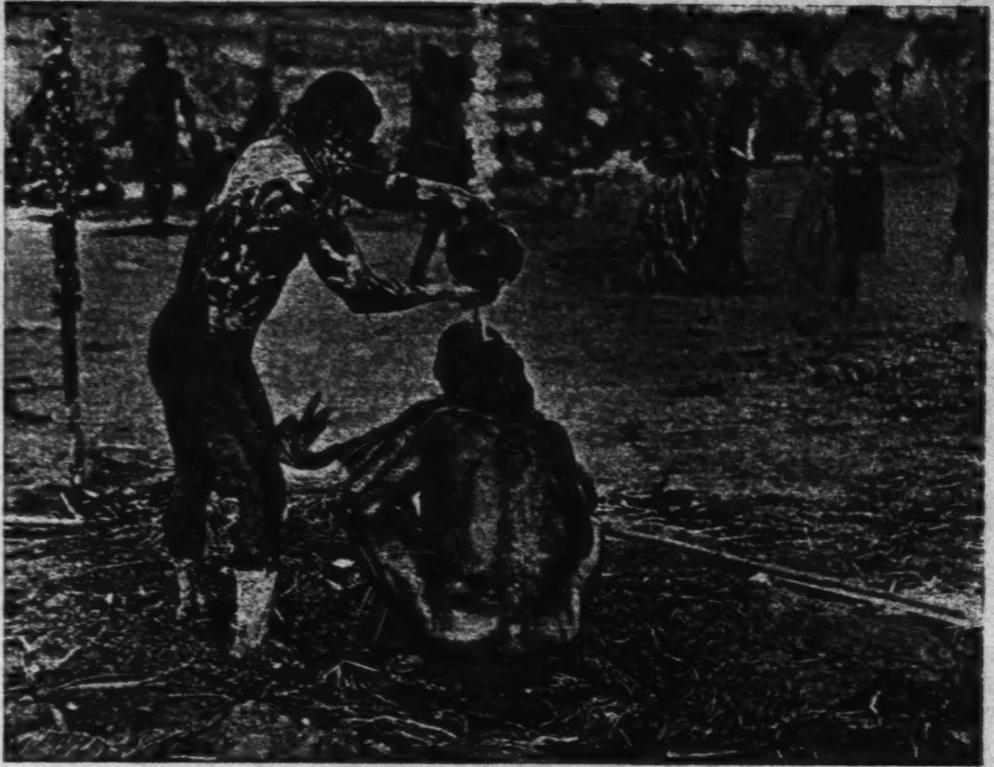
302



EXHAUSTED DANCERS squat on temporary grave as a friend, daubed with clay to represent a mythical beast, sprinkles them with water. This action cools the dancers and hastens disintegration of body. Feathered pole is a grave marker.

[p.44-c]

join in the dance, which consists of 765
simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As 535
the dancers become tired, they drop 825
out of line one by one, and eventually 762
the shaman may be left dancing alone.

In preparation for the actual burial 764
festivities, the Bororo ornament
themselves elaborately and with meticulous 302
care. They paint their faces 301
and bodies with a variety of fantastic
designs in different colors, and may 292
plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail
feathers of as many as thirty macaws. [435]
These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

One of the highlights of the Bororo 765
funeral ceremony is the impersonation 535
of mythical beasts by men dressed in
various costumes and performing imitative 767
dances. Two such creatures inspect 776
the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

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Another mythical creature is repre-
sented by a man whose body is [302]
painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's
soul out of the grave. During this performance, [775]
other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

765
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415
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142

Palm sap, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

767
765
776 renewed effort to call forth the spirit of the dead Bororo.

765 535 The ritual dances of the Bororo depict in lively and vigorous fashion many aspects of their relations with the spirit world. All the dances take place in the village plaza, and most of them continue for hours at a time, requiring tremendous physical endurance. As one by one the dancers become exhausted, they drop out of line. Weary and covered with perspiration, each one squats unceremoniously on the shallow grave, while someone pours a pot of water over him. These shower baths have a twofold purpose: they refresh the dancers and also moisten the ground, thus hastening decomposition of the body.

273 222 [765] [535] Before the dancers return to strenuous activity, they may sip palm "wine." This weakly fermented beverage is prepared from sap of the *acuri* palm, a tree that grows in profusion near the village. To collect the sap, a man climbs to the top of the tree and cuts off the uppermost fronds. Next, his wife ascends and, with a shell, scrapes the pith from the heart of the

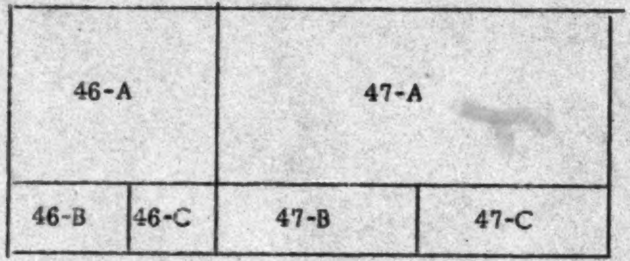
[p.45-c]

palm, leaving a deep well in which the 273
sap collects by upward seepage. She 222
covers the opening with leaves, and by the next day the well is full. A number of women then suck the sap into reeds, which they use as pipettes. [415] When a reed is full, they close the top quickly with a thumb and transfer the sap to large pots. It is then taken back to the village and left in the shade for a day to ferment.

For a change of pace from the ritual 526
dances of the funerary ceremony, [764]
the Bororo engage in an unusual kind of relay race. Two teams of young men—each team representing one of [616] the two moieties of the society—oppose each other. Men of the two groups cut stems of buriti palms, trim them to a uniform length, and tie them into two huge circular bundles resembling cart wheels. Each one is about three feet in diameter and may weigh more than one hundred pounds. With a "cart wheel" on his shoulder, a lead-off man from each team begins running toward the village. When he tires under his heavy burden, the bundle is taken over

[p.45-D]

[text continues on p. 46-B]


46-A
47-A
46-B
46-C
47-B
47-C

[Layout of pp. 46-47]

S:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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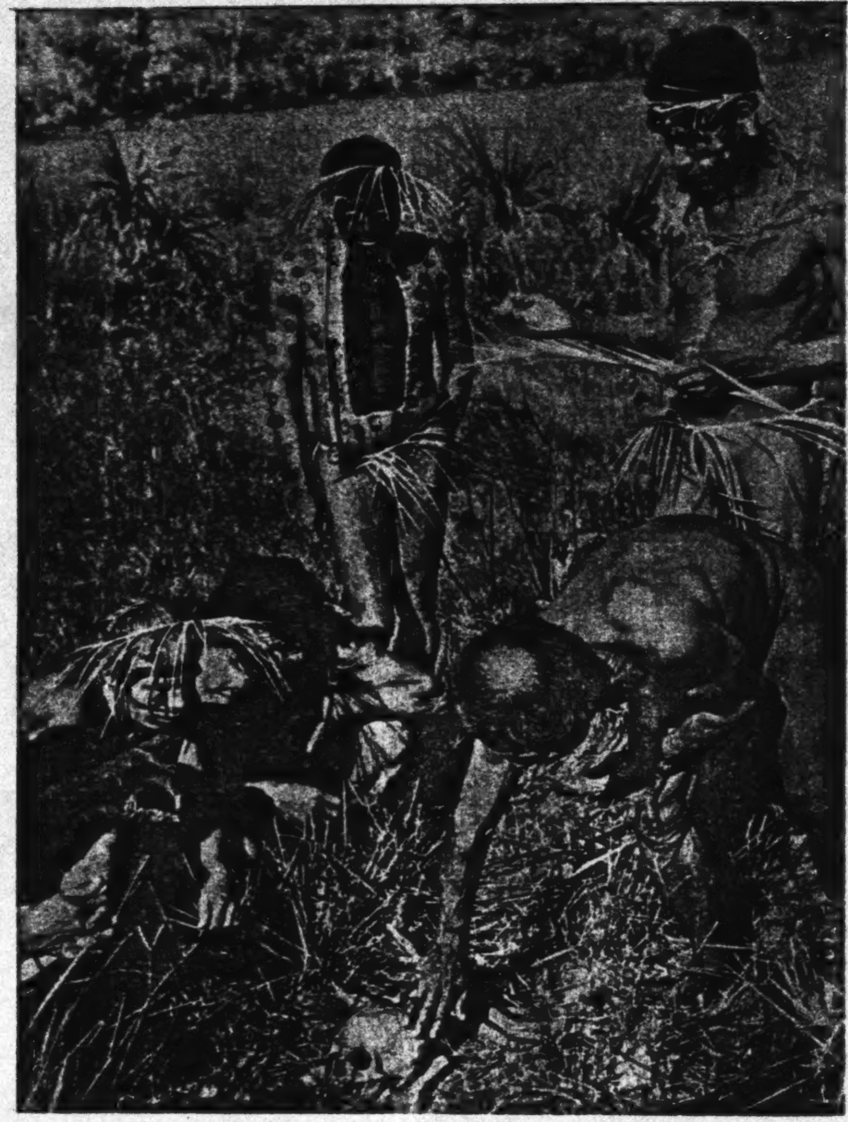

Only men take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

by a teammate, who, as he in turn 526
tires, is relieved by a fresh teammate, [764]
and so on. The race is so exhausting
that no rituals are held the next day.

When the rituals are again resumed, 765
they continue with undiminished va-
riety and vitality until the repertory [535]
of dances is completed. Then, early
one morning, about a month after the
initial burial, the skeleton of the deceased, now nearly free of flesh, is
disinterred. A few men take the bones
to a nearby swamp, wash them without
ceremony, and carefully remove all the
remaining flesh.

After being washed, the skull is set
by a small fire to dry. When thoroughly dry, it is put into a basket with the
other bones and carried back to the
village, escorted by a procession to
the accompaniment of cane flutes and [534]
gourd trumpets.

As the procession approaches the
village, it is met by the nearest female [602]

[p.46-B]

relative of the deceased, who shoulders 765
the basket and carries it to the men's [602]
house. As she sits outside the house,
holding the basket in her lap, the other
female kin of the deceased once more [304]
gash their arms and breasts, and allow [152]
their blood to run onto the basket. The
men once again shake their gourd [533]
rattles and sing the songs and lamentations
they intoned at the time of death.

Meanwhile, several men begin to 765
decorate the skull, which is 531
placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it.

The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[text continues on p. 48-A]

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531
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6: Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

CLEANED SKULL is put on a specially [illegible]

feathers. Mussel shell placed on mat [illegible]

[p.47-A]

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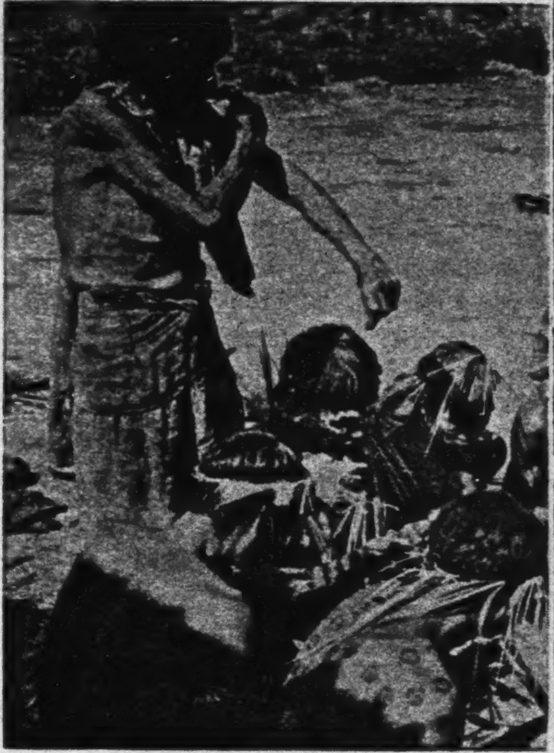
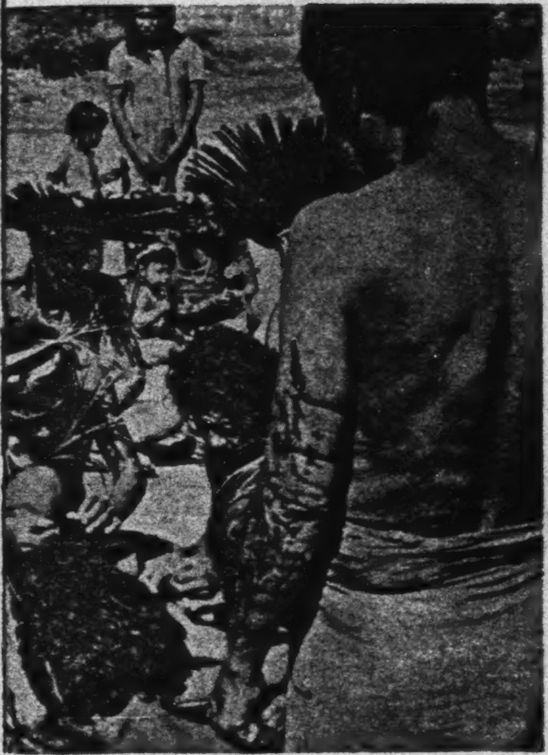
142



During decorating, women gash their skin and allow blood to drip on skull.



Notice cuts on arm of woman at right, whose hair is cropped as mourning sign.

[p.47-B]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 195[illegible]
SP[illegible] GP8

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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Multicolored feathers, held on with resin, completely cover skull, which is surmounted by feather crown. Still on its mat, skull is put on jaguar skin.

[p.47-c]

<table>
<tr><td>48-A</td><td>48-B</td><td>48-C</td><td>49-A</td><td>49-B</td><td>49-C</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">49-D</td></tr>
</table>

[Layout of pp. 48-49]

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531

placed in the special basket that is to be their final repository. Then the skull, still resting on its little mat, is placed in the basket on top of the other bones. The edges of the basket are sewed together with a wooden needle and fiber cord, and until its final burial a few days later, it is hung in the house of the deceased's relatives.

[283]

[p.48-A]

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On the day after the bones have been decorated, some of the men go into the forest to carve and decorate a number of bull-roarers. These are flat, fish-shaped pieces of wood, 3 to 4 feet long and 5 to 8 inches wide, which are whirled in the air by means of a long cord. As the piece of wood rotates it causes the cord to twist, and

[p. 48-B]

the combined action produces a strange, moaning whir. The rest of that day and all of the following night the bull-roarers are whirled, and their noise is believed to represent the voice of the evil spirit *Bope*. (No woman may see the bull-roarers, for the sight, it is believed, would kill her.) The bones are carried to their final resting

765
534

[776]

[562]

[p. 48-C]

place to the accompaniment of the bull-roarers' whir. 765 [523]

At the swamp, where the final interment of the bones takes place, a deep pit is dug, and the basket is lowered into it. There is no further ritual. Only a long bamboo pole decorated with feathers is left to mark the last resting place of the bones, on the proper dis- [461]

[p. 49-A]

position of which the Bororo have lavished approximately a month of their time and so much of their energy. 765 [461]

IN January, 1958, Marshal Candido M. Rondon, who was a great friend and protector of the Indians of Brazil, and the first director of the Brazilian Indian Service, died. During Rondon's 114

[p. 49-B]

114

last visit to the Bororo, he spoke in the Bororo tongue with Cadete, an old chief whom he had known for more than sixty years. After a long conversation, Rondon translated for a companion: "He said that I am old and have not long to live, and that I should come here to die, for only the Bororo know how to bury me properly."

[p.49-C]

6: Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SPS Bororo SPS

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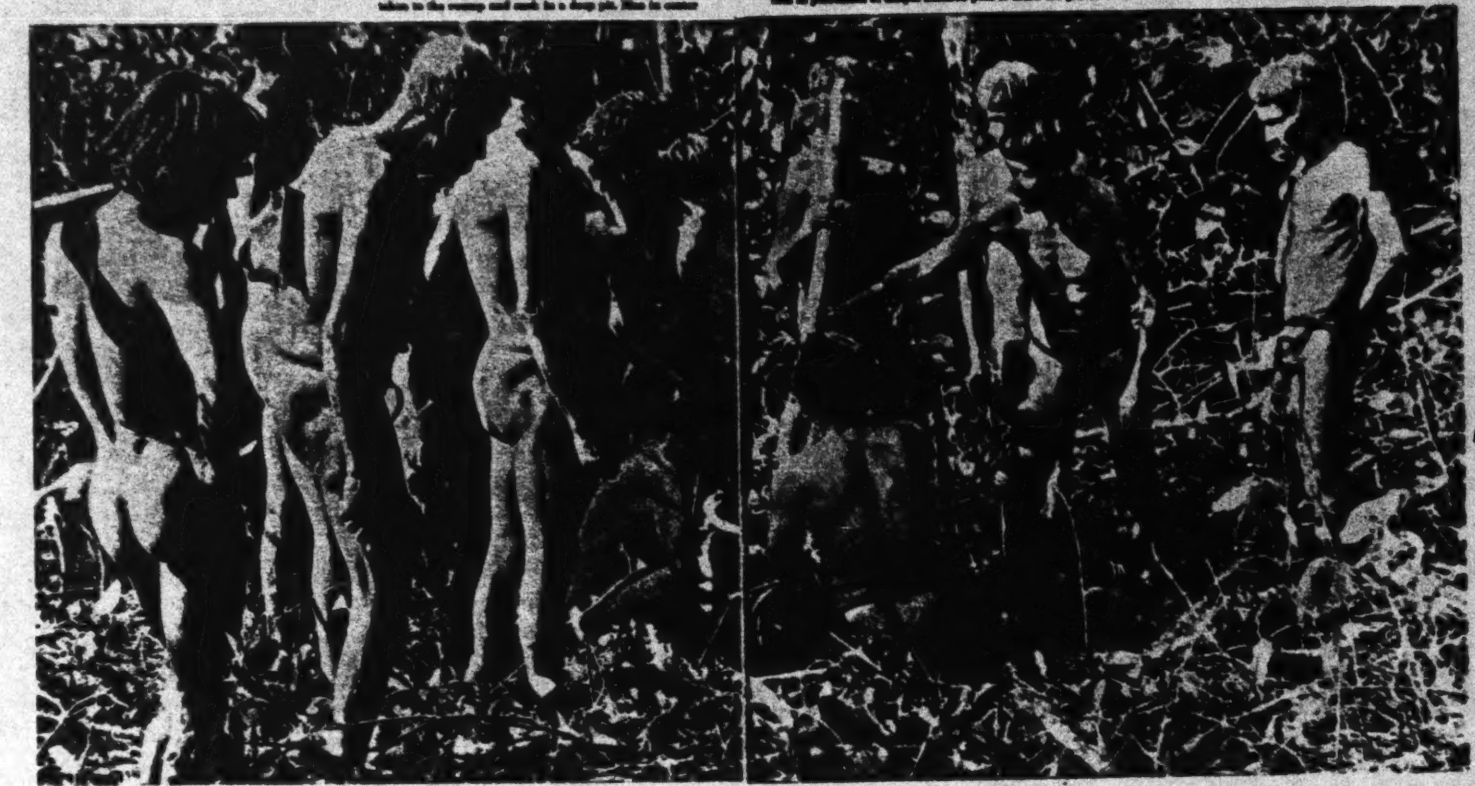
302.

After a series of rituals, the basket containing bones is taken to the swamp and sunk in a deep pit. Man in center is standing in the burial pit, while others in group help him in placement of simple bamboo pole to mark the grave.



[p.49-A]

796

[Information on the various Bororo rituals and ceremonies associated with death will be found in categories 764 and 765.]